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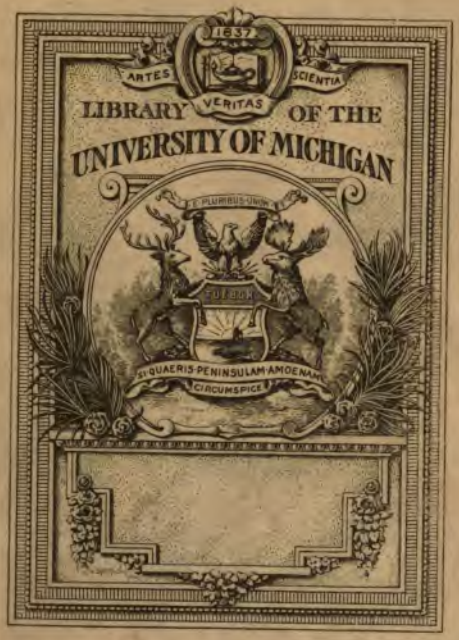
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2. *Ueber Religion und Theologie. Erlauterungen zu seinem Lehrbuche der Dogmatik.* Von DR. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Berlin, 1821. *On Religion and Theology. Illustrations of his Manual of Doctrinal Christianity.*

3. *Ueber die Religion, ihr Wesen, ihre Erscheinungsformen, und ihren Einfluss auf das Leben.* Vorlesungen von DR. W. M. L. DE WETTE. Berlin, 1817. *Lectures on Religion in its Essence, its Manifestations, and its Influence on Life.*

IN a former article we have given an outline of De Wette's views of Religion, as it is in Itself, its Manifestations, and its Influence on Life. Bearing these views still in mind, we would now contemplate the author's further development of them, and examine his opinions on the leading subjects in Christian Theology.

The Bible, it is well said by a distinguished Orthodox divine, holds the same relation to religious truth, that the material world holds to physical science. It is the repository of the great facts in man's religious experience, as the latter is of the facts of observation. Wise and rare indeed is the Theologian,

who comes to the study of the Bible with the same earnestness, that the natural philosopher brings to the study of the visible creation, and who is willing to seek the great elements of spiritual truth in the inspired volume, just as the latter seeks to learn the laws of the elemental powers of nature around him.

To do this is the great aim of De Wette's theological labors, — to show the elements of religion as manifested in the Holy Scriptures, and to show them fairly and fully in the life. He brings to the work a true eclectic spirit, and seeks to do justice to every part of the truth. He is neither bigot nor skeptic, neither mystic nor idealist. He looks to the Christian Records in their literal historic light, and yet avoids the errors of those mere letter critics, who, on the one hand, fall into a spiritless, irrational dogmatism, and, on the other hand, sink into a grovelling skeptical Naturalism.* He regards Christianity as a revelation of the eternal ideas of the Universal Reason, but avoids the error of those, who place all faith merely in certain abstract ideas, and thus maintain a cold rationalism, that degenerates into a mere worldly morality, or an airy and vague idealism, and deprives Christianity of its strong foundation in the heart's affections and in actual historic proof. He regards Religion as resting in great part upon the heart's feelings, and yet avoids that mysticism, which gives to faith no foundation in reason or in fact, and makes it a matter of vague feeling. He seeks to do justice to every element of Christianity, and to find its basis, alike in fact, feeling, and reason.

Our author's classification of Theology is very simple and comprehensive. He divides it very naturally into *scientific* and *practical* — the former having for its object the investigation of religious truth, the latter having for its object the culture of religion in man — and both bearing the same relation to each other as Theory and Art. Scientific Theology again is divided according to the two elements of which religion is composed; it is, in the first place, *philosophical,* in so far as it investigates the capacity of man for religion and those universal religious ideas, which belong to the Reason; in the second place, it is *historical,* in so far as it relates to the past revelations of re-

* Some writers persist in calling De Wette a Naturalist. There is no doctrine that he more strongly opposes than Naturalism.

ligion in history; thirdly, the historic and philosophical elements, put together, constitute *Systematic Theology.**

Parallel with Theology proper stands Moral Theology, which first philosophically investigates the general principles of Ethics; secondly, investigates their history, especially that of Christian Ethics; and, finally, develops Christian Morals systematically, both according to Reason and History.

Of De Wette's views of Moral Theology we shall say nothing in the present article, except remark the wonderful research and comprehension, which his great work on Christian Morals exhibits, and the eloquence and popular persuasiveness, which his Lectures on the same subject show. Nor can we follow him in his view of the several subjects of Christian Theology, as they come respectively under his notice. Of his view of philosophical Theology, or of the elements of religion in the human soul, enough has been said in the previous article. Here we can only glance at his view of Christianity as an authoritative, historic revelation, and then sketch his opinions on some of the main points of Christian doctrine. In conclusion, we may perhaps say a word as to his ideas concerning the practical application of religion to the hearts of men. We will try to be just to our author's opinions, although we must abridge his words.

I. Christianity comes to us through history. The tree of life has its root in an historical ground. Theology therefore must of necessity have an historical form, and must result from a full and free investigation of the Christian records. There are many, who are strongly opposed to a free investigation of these records, and opposed on widely different grounds. Some are afraid that the sanctity of revelation will be harmed by a free inquiry into the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures, and are alarmed at the bold steps in this inquiry, which sacred criticism has already taken. These should remember, that truth shrinks not from free inquiry, that some critical doubts concerning the authorship of the records of a revelation do not necessarily call in question the truths of the revelation itself, and that it is the part of hearty faith in Christianity to en-

* Our principal authority for the opinions in this article is the "*Religion und Theologie.*" The outline of the second part of the work is given in this article very nearly.

courage investigation, and rejoice in all light, that scholars and philosophers can shed upon it. If unbelievers seek to disparage the authority of Christianity, then there is all the more opportunity and encouragement for the faithful to show themselves champions of the truth.

Those, on the other hand, who shrink from free inquiry into the sacred books, because they have little trust in their historic truth, and regard them only in a figurative or symbolic light, and fear that strict criticism will destroy their poetic and devotional charm, are in an obvious error. They do away with the historical basis of a religion, whose appearance marks the most important epoch in the history of man, and which has left its traces in all subsequent history.

Yet although we claim strict historic truth for the foundation of the Christian records, it must be allowed, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between that which is figurative or symbolic, and that which is strict historical fact; as, for instance, in regard to some of the parables, relating to future retribution, and in regard to the miraculous Conception. But this difficulty is much obviated by the consideration, that the historic credibility of any statement is not lessened necessarily by giving it a symbolic signification, nor is the symbolic or spiritual meaning destroyed by our believing the statement as a historic fact. Surely, as long as a man will allow the ideas which are declared in the New Testament, we ought not to quarrel with him, whatever opinions he may have of any historic facts. If, for instance, a man believes in the divine dignity of our Savior, and that the spirit of the Father was in him, it is comparatively immaterial what he may think of that passage of questioned authenticity, which speaks of the miraculous conception of the Son of God.

Of course the most important point in historical Theology is that which relates to the external evidence of Christianity, or its alleged miracles. Upon this point, De Wette has much to say, and herein a great excellence of his system appears. He looks upon the Christian miracles as grounded in historic fact,*

* It must be confessed, that De Wette's views of the miracles are rather wavering, as given in his different works. But he never shows any Naturalist doubts. It is his uniform opinion, that such a moral miracle as Christianity might be expected to be accompanied by wonders in outward nature.

and yet values them for their moral and spiritual signification, far more than for their worth, as outward facts. He receives, for instance, the account of our Lord's resurrection. He allows, as every candid student of early Christianity must do, that, without the fact of our Lord's resurrection, the remarkable confidence with which the disciples were inspired, after such bitter disappointment and despondency, is perfectly unaccountable, and too great a miracle to be believed, — a greater miracle and more incredible than that of a resurrection from the dead. Yet he believes, that the unshrinking faith in the eternal life, which Jesus showed before his death, and his peace and love and power, even amid his grievous sufferings upon the cross, and the idea of the superiority of spirit to inert matter, are far more important as elements of Christian faith, than the bare fact of a miraculous resurrection. He unites the two bearings of miracles, that have been too often disjoined — the material and the spiritual — he regards the miracle both as an historical fact, and a spiritual symbol. We know not how we can give a better idea of his view of the use, which the Christian preacher should make of the miracles, than by quoting from "Theodore" the letter, which the simple-hearted, trusting young minister, John, wrote to his philosophical friend, who was doubting and distracted between the Naturalist and Supernaturalist view of miracles. These words may not be amiss upon the minds of some of our brethren, who are speculating on the subject, and may impress upon them a new application of the command — What God hath joined, let not man put asunder.

"The longer I exercise my office, the more I feel that the doubts, which have troubled your mind, do not concern the essentials of our truth, or the doctrine which the servant of the Lord is commissioned to declare.

"You believe, as well as I, in the truth and the saving power of the Gospel, in the incomparable worth of him, whom we own as our master, teacher, and guide. And with this faith, if it be only deep and living, one may lead the minds of men to that, which concerns their peace. In instructing the people, we have no reason to speak of the contest about reason and revelation. How could I, in speaking to the people, deprecate reason, when the very next moment, in order to lead to conviction of the truths of the Gospel, and make application of it to the duties of human life, I could not even attack it without using it. The people know nothing of this distinction, and wish to know nothing

of it: they wish for the truth, no matter how revealed, whether naturally or supernaturally. They only hold to this, that it comes from God, and is in the Holy Scripture. And who will or can deny this? Have you ever doubted this yourself?

"The same thing holds good with respect to historic doubts. We cannot in the Pulpit enter into any critical investigations of the miracles of Gospel story, but use them so far as they tend to spiritual edification. Merely to believe that Jesus worked this or that extraordinary deed tends rather to excite astonishment, than to kindle real devotion. I find, that the miracles are seldom or never brought forward in the Bible, as *mere miracles*, that is, as objects of astonishment, and that we are almost always directed to a higher spiritual meaning in them. Thus much is certain, that if a man speaks of the miracles to the people, he must make a spiritual application of them. Not long since, I preached upon the miracle of feeding the five thousand. But I could not confine myself to the mere fact of our Savior's having in a supernatural way increased their supply of provisions, (which indeed is not expressly stated,) because there is nothing in this view edifying for the soul. But I sought to make clear the spirit and sentiments, which Jesus displayed in this action, and thus to excite and elevate my hearers. And does not the soul and sentiment remain the same, think as we will about the connexion of miracles with nature?" *

It may be that our author is disposed to slight the external, authoritative side of Christianity, and to think it little matter what facts of history we believe or disbelieve, so long as we are right about principles and feelings. If he have a fault as a Theologian, it is this. But it is a good fault; and standing as it does in the face of a miserable dogmatism, that is ever ready to consign men to endless misery for not holding the church belief, regarding some historical fact, that happened thousands of years ago, we respect the fault, and honor it more than the best virtues of these narrow dogmatists. Be it remembered, however, that as a preacher he corrects the error of the Theologian and Philosopher, and appeals more to the outward authority of Christianity and to the miracles, than his speculative views would seem to imply. Witness his sermons on the Resurrection and the Ascension in proof of this. Yet he is always true to his great principle, to regard the letter only as the dress of the spirit — to value facts for the ideas which they contain.

* Theodore. Book II. ch. vi.

II. Having now glanced at De Wette's view of the historic basis of Christian Theology, we pass on to consider his opinions upon the main points of Christian Dogmatics.

How he would treat this branch of his subject, may be easily inferred from what we already know of the man. With critical acuteness and moral and religious sensibility singularly united, he studies the records of our religion, and seeks to ascertain the distinguishing principles of each part, to ascertain what is the mere garb, which prejudices of time and place have given to those principles, and what are the real divine revelations, or unchangeable eternal truths. In this spirit he traces the development of religious ideas in the Old Dispensation, both in the early Hebraism, and the later Judaism, modified as it was by the influx of the Chaldean notions of angels, demons, and the future life, and he seeks to ascertain what the doctrines of each period were concerning God, man, and God's government of man, especially in regard to a future Messiah. In like spirit he then traces the progress of Truth, as fully revealed by the Savior, and repeated by the apostles, and as it has been variously imaged forth from the minds of men in the various ages of the Church, both Catholic and Protestant.

We cannot of course follow him through this search into the progress of Christian Doctrines, for even to give an outline of his labors would far transgress our limits. Let us only bear in mind, that he strives to write a history of Dogmatic Theology, on the same plan upon which the history of philosophy has been studied in these latter days; he would show the great ideas, from which all the dogmas of religion have sprung — thus giving a fair view of the various conflicting systems, and at the same time manifesting the unity of the real truth. The reason why Doctrinal Theology has not been studied in this way, he does not know whether to attribute to the difficulty of the subject, or to the want of a sufficiently scientific spirit among theologians. Without dwelling upon this point, we now turn to our author's views of the main Christian Doctrines, and we begin with the doctrine of the Revelation through Christ and the Inspiration of the Bible.

In Jesus Christ we have a revelation of God, in which we ought to own a power infinitely above us, and before which we ought to bow the knee in adoration. This is the spirit, in which the pious Christian contemplates the manifestation of the truth, as it is in Jesus. The doctrine, that Christianity is a

divine revelation is one that the heart, aided by the Holy Spirit, must feel; the spirit in the soul of man must own the divinity of the spirit in the soul of Christ, and in his life and words. The truly divine bears its highest proof in itself, and does not rest upon any worldly knowledge for its support. All goodness, like all beauty, is its own best witness and proof; and in order to know what is truly divine, it is as absurd to seek to prove it by labored logic, as it would be to seek to prove by an elaborate argument, that the blue sky is delightful to the eye, or that a master-piece of Phidias or Raphael is truly beautiful. The Christian world has always believed the divinity of Christ, because they have had a witness of it in their own hearts. They have tasted that the Lord is good. They have heard the words of Jesus, and owned that never man spake like this man. They have meditated upon his life and works, and felt that in him God dwelt and through him fully revealed himself.

As to them, who have recorded for us the revelation, made through Christ, they were inspired in so far as they lived with him or near his time, and imbibed his doctrine, and were filled with that same Holy Spirit, of which he was full. Free investigation into the claims of the canonical books is allowed; and no man's salvation can be endangered by any opinions he may form upon such points of critical inquiry. But there is another view of the canon, which is independent of the question of historical criticism, and which looks rather at the divine truths in the books, than at the authors or dates of the record, and glories with faith and love in all the traces of divine perfection, that are visible in them; and of course a man's salvation or the peace of his soul can be endangered by the opinions he holds of the sacred records, considered in this point of view. If he scoffs at the divine wisdom and goodness and love there manifested, he brings his soul into peril, — he shuts his mind against the Holy Spirit, and is already condemned in his own heart, — condemned as truly as that man is, who, beholding a kindly act in his brother, or a token of the Heavenly Father's love, turns away with a sneer, and will see and own no goodness there.

The peculiar Christian doctrines are treated under three heads, — the doctrines relating to God, those relating to man, and finally those relating to salvation, or the Reconciliation of God with man or man with God.

1. In regard to the Being and Attributes of God, De Wette

avoids equally the old superstition, that places God far above the world in some remote heavens, and that Pantheism, it matters not whether of materialism or spiritualism, that confounds God with the world. As to the doctrine of the Trinity, in its right sense, he receives it with all his heart, and mourns, that bigots and dogmatists should have so distorted it as to bring down to a sensuous worldly formula a truth, which is one of the spirit's mysteries, which the pious heart alone can feel. He owns the three great manifestations of Deity, as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The Son and the Holy Spirit are only forms of God's manifestation of himself in the world, and of his working for the sanctification of man. Through Christ, with the aid of the Spirit, the pious soul draws near to God, and a union or atonement with him is made. According to this the whole view of Christianity may be regarded as concentrated in the doctrine of the Trinity, and it is an essential of our faith. But sad have been the errors and culpable the bigotry of theologians, who have so materialized these three manifestations of God, and declared the absurd dogma of three persons in one, and made the senseless distinction between substance and person.

This view coincides with the opinions of us, Unitarians. De Wette, however, objects to what he calls the Unitarian doctrine, as strongly as he does to the prevalent Trinitarian dogma. "The view of the Unitarians," he says, "who recognise only a Supreme God over the world, is onesided, and leaves the heart cold. We ought to feel the image and power of God in the world around us, and especially in the revelation by Christ, and thus go from down upwards, as from up downwards. In the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, every truth is embodied, which is contained in Monotheism, Anthropomorphism, and Pantheism, and thereby Christianity has over Judaism and Heathenism the superiority of having the perfection of both without any of their errors." The Christian adores the one Eternal Father, seeks to find him in the Son, and to feel him in the Holy Spirit.

2. We now come to our author's doctrine of Mankind, or of Human Nature. Here the account of man in Genesis, which is the basis of Paul's view of free grace in Christ, is an important element. It contains the just historical view, that with the beginning of free action and culture in the world, sin, and misery, (of which death is the great symbol,) as its punishment,

came into the world, and man lost peace and joy of soul, and was driven from Paradise. This event is repeated in the life of every man; all persons sin, as soon as they have knowledge and free will, and so all have Adam's nature, and take part in his sin and share his guilt. But the church dogma on the subject errs in ascribing to the mere picture of lost simplicity and innocence in our first parents the idea of a previous state of perfect holiness, — an idea, to which neither Genesis, nor Paul, nor the New Testament give any sanction, and which we can, and must abandon. The old dogmatists are more correct than many recent theologians, in regarding our tendency to evil, as guilt; a truth, upon which all religious life rests, and with the rejection of which Christianity falls to the ground. Paul's view is the true one, that man, with all his moral effort, cannot attain to inward peace and the favor of God; since how can he elevate himself to true holiness. But it is a dogmatic extravagance to deny to man all power of goodness; this is not just, in a moral view, since we have always moral power, even if it is finite and vincible; and in a religious point of view, it is false, inasmuch as even the moral condemnation, which we pass upon ourselves, is based on a recognition of the holiness of God, and the need of believing on and confiding in him is placed in the very constitution of our hearts. On the other hand, it is still true, that it is difficult for man to raise himself to religious faith, that sensual views and tendencies have such power over him, that an outward excitement and support, (in which the pious heart owns God's free grace,) is needed in addition to his natural capacities for religion. A passion for a connected dogmatic system, together with a partial materialist point of view, has exaggerated this truth, and forgotten, that although man needs the Holy Spirit in the works of regeneration, yet here, as everywhere in the spiritual life of men, an inherent receptive power must be regarded as a prerequisite to the Divine Influence. The inherent power of the soul, in itself finite and dependent on God, needs an outward excitement in order to become active, and therefore man needs salvation through divine grace. It is a perfectly correct religious view to regard all the inspiration towards good, that ever glows in the soul, as an influence of the Deity. The Holy Spirit and Reason must not be opposed to one another, but the latter made subordinate to the former. The former belongs to Faith, the latter to reflection. These limitations and corrections of the dogmatic creed do not at all

war with the faith of the people. The just belief still remains, that we are all sinners, and all come short of the glory of God, and that all good comes from above from the grace of God; and the doctrine of Justification by Faith and Sanctification by the Holy Spirit is in nowise shaken. The great Christian truth of man's dependence on God remains unwavering for the pious heart. Why should the pious man vex himself about dogmatic theories? Faith does not weary itself in making acute and subtile distinctions, but lives in full contemplation and enjoyment of the truth.

3. But it is in the third division of doctrinal theology, that is, in regard to the doctrines of Salvation, that our author's views are most remarkable and satisfactory. His views of the doctrines of grace are probably those, which the liberal Christianity of the age will adopt and preach. The aim of the doctrine of salvation is to show the reconciliation between the idea of a holy, benevolent Deity and the prevalence of evil in the world; between the destination of mankind to goodness and their actual moral perdition. The solution of this problem is found in the redemption and atonement by Jesus Christ, and in the efficacy of the divine grace, whereby the salvation of man, his peace and blessedness are ensured.

That God wishes the good of the world and of all men, is the great Christian idea, which lies at the bottom of the doctrine of salvation, and which we must recognise as one of the great truths of the Universal Faith and Reason. That God, through Christ, would redeem the world, is the obvious view of Christianity, which the Scriptures declare, and which philosophy assents to, by proving the adaptation of Christian truth to the human heart, and its identity with those eternal ideas of the reason, which unaided reason was of itself incompetent to develop fully. That God has resolved to save some individuals by faith in Christ is only an application of this general idea to the particular consciences of individual believers. Those persons, into whose mind the truth sinks and quickens Christian faith, hope, and love, are delivered from the powers of darkness and despondency, and are saved through faith in Jesus. These persons, so richly blessed from above, naturally feel and declare their own unworthiness and inability. Thus comes the doctrine of the depravity of the human heart and its inability to work out its own salvation. The mind of man unaided cannot attain true peace, — cannot be saved from the evils of this

world, nor established in firm faith in the eternal life. The evils of life press heavily on the heart, and unless the Divine Comforter be there, evil will often seem to reign over good; the soul needs trust in one, who, like Jesus, has sounded the depths of deepest human woes, and by his own experience proved, that there is glorious joy beyond, — one who has passed through the gloomiest recesses of this vale of tears, and shown that beyond the darkness there is glorious light, — that even the Gethsemane of Agony, through which we must all pass, can have its ministering angels, and the Cross of Anguish can lead to a Heavenly Crown. The natural creation around us gives the soul some intimations of an eternal life, and the soul's own yearnings and aspirations crave an immortality; but creation speaks a language of enigma, and the soul's consciousness is wavering and uncertain, and often the clouds of sin and despondency shut down upon it, and hide the stars of immortal hope. In Christ immortality is made sure; he lived the eternal life in this world; he never doubted it, while living, and sealed its truth by his death; he has passed within the veil; the curtain before the Holy of Holies is rent asunder; man may now enter the sanctuary of divine truth, may behold the ark of the eternal covenant between the Human Soul and the Eternal Father, and, without priest or sacrifice, may find a blissful reconciliation or atonement. Thus comes salvation by faith in Christ.

Some find this faith and salvation; others do not. Here a fertile source of controversy is opened. Those, who find faith and salvation, attribute their happiness very justly to God, who hath called them to such joy. Very soon they go a step farther, and also attribute the sin and misery of the unfaithful to the decrees of God, who is thus made to elect some to salvation, and to consign others to perdition. This is the Calvinistic dogma of election. It makes God the direct author of evil, and cannot be true. The Lutherans, on the contrary, hold to a universal love of God, according to which he wishes the salvation of all men, but at the same time does not decree salvation to all, except on the condition of faith. Both Calvinists and Lutherans are right, and again both are wrong, and the truth lies midway between the two. The Lutheran is right, inasmuch as he attributes man's unbelief and sin to his own guilt, but at the same time he is wrong in not regarding faith as the work of the divine grace; and besides it cannot be denied,

that men are led to unbelief by birth and fortune often, and therefore by the Providence of God, or by a divine decree. The Calvinist is right in attributing faith and unfaithfulness to the work of Providence, but is wrong in attributing the whole to the arbitrary decree of God, irrespective of human will. Each expresses a part of the truth. The one dwells exclusively on man's freedom, the other exclusively on his dependence on God. Both are right in a degree. Man is free, and yet dependent on God.

The contradiction between the Calvinistic and Lutheran doctrine of Election is thus removed; and especially when we refer its application to the work of salvation, as something temporal and historical, and not to a decree of God for eternity. A man has been *elected* to salvation, whenever the Gospel has been sent in such form as to touch his heart, and to fill it with faith and peace: a man is rejected by God, as long as the Gospel has not been addressed to him in such a manner as to bring the Holy Spirit to his heart and convert him. He is rejected, because his own sinfulness is strong, and Providence has not addressed the truth to his heart with sufficient power to break down the barrier, which his own sins have erected against the heavenly light. He is not elected in this world, but it does not necessarily follow from this, that he is rejected forever.

As to the dogma of the divinity of Christ, De Wette regards it, as having a moral meaning for the heart, and he is never disposed to speak disparagingly of it, so as to wound the feelings of any lover of the Savior. But he is equally cautious of falling into the error of those dogmatists, who pretend to show how the divine and human natures are united in Jesus. The pious Christian, convinced of the divine truth of the doctrine and life of Jesus, and of the wisdom and grace of God, made visible in him, and penetrated with the beauty and sublimity of his character, believes and beholds in him the Godhead manifested bodily, but he does not agitate his brain with subtle metaphysical inquiries, how all this is possible, since a living feeling in his own soul shows this to him as actually true, and he bows in spirit before the God present in Jesus. Away then with all those arid formulas of dogmatism, of which the Bible and Christian faith know nothing at all, and which had their birth in the sterile heads of spiritless word-mongers. Let Christ come to our hearts, as the Son of God, the Divine Man, the image of the Eternal Father. Let us not be parsimonious in

glorifying him, nor weigh our expressions too anxiously. Let us not forget, that these expressions should come from the heart and be addressed to the heart, and not to the critical understanding; and let him, who would speak to the people of their Savior, not do it without the warmth and freedom of pious inspiration. We ought indeed to be careful how we err in speaking of the physical nature of Christ, and beware of confounding the Eternal Spirit with the human nature. But there is little fear of such errors, if we remember that the Gospel way to understand the union between the Son and Father consists in our being one with each other and with God, even as the Son was one with God. Christians would cease their quarrels, if they would seek to breathe into their souls the life of Christ, and to hold him up to the hearts of men, as the Way, and the Truth, and the Life.

The doctrine of the atonement does not strike our author, as it does many late theologians, as being unimportant to religion, or as an utterly disgraceful relic of Judaism. Of course the idea of sacrifice, which this doctrine presupposes, sprang from Judaism, but in the Christian atonement the sacrifice is spiritual, and thus the doctrine is worthy of our faith. The scholastic doctrine of a satisfaction necessary to appease the wrath of God is to be utterly rejected; for it is a coarse and sensuous application of the worldly ideas of judicial retribution to the highest moral subject. If we do not mingle with the common view of the doctrine a carping criticism, but view it as broadly and spiritually as the apostle Paul does, who refers everything for which we have to thank Jesus to his death, and considers it as the effect of his death, we then possess a beautiful religious symbol, which, when glorified by art, has the most beneficial influence on the pious mind, and gives a deep serenity. In order to see this we must analyze the doctrine into its religious elements.

Christ frees us by his death from the punishment of our sins, and propitiates the wrath of God. This is the common doctrine; and this, divested of the coarse doctrine of satisfaction, so confounded with it, and considered in a spiritual light, amounts to no more than this; Christ gives to the mind, distressed with guilt and distracted by doubts, such inward peace, that it can raise itself confidently to God, the righteous Judge. The consciousness of guilt, expressed in the language of the heart, is that religious feeling of humility, in which we bow

ourselves before God, and by which peace of mind returns to us; since we cannot raise ourselves towards Almighty God without feeling ourselves strengthened and inspired. From the due contemplation of the holiness of God, there springs up spontaneously in every sound, living, pious mind, that mysterious reconciliation, which is to be understood only by the believer's heart, and which the Christian calls atonement or forgiveness of sin. This inward inexpressible reconciliation must be represented actually in history, and thus preserved and made to minister to the unconverted world. As in Christ all ideas are manifested, historically and personally, of course, this highest idea of atonement must be manifest, in order, that in him the whole life of Humanity may be perfectly mirrored. And this is done by his martyr-death.

"Since Christ by enduring death for our sakes presents the highest idea of moral perfection, and has represented by it the complete victory of the spirit over the flesh and sin, we may through faith in and communion with him, appropriate his merit to ourselves; he raises us to himself, when we crucify ourselves with him, and like him, free ourselves from the dominion of the flesh; and confiding in him, we find peace of soul, and no longer fear the wrath of the exact Judge, but have become sure of the grace of a loving Father. Besides, the historical importance of the death of Jesus is to be regarded; that through his death the victory of the truth has been most distinctly established; that the dying Jesus is in an adequate sense the representative of the Christian Religion, in so far as it has enlightened and blessed the world; that we behold all, that Christianity has conferred on us, concentrated on a single image in Christ on the Cross; that in consequence of the death of Jesus, peace of soul, the Atonement has come."

"This is the pure sense of the biblical doctrine of the Atonement to which the idea of sacrifice brings no detriment; since in the Sin Offerings of the Old Testament, the idea of self-denial was represented, in that the victims died in the stead of the sinner, and typified his guilt. But in those sacrifices, the idea of moral aspiration and the free grace of God was absent, or at least not figured forth. Christ was the complete sacrifice, because he, alike by his moral purity and spiritual might, and the love that inspired him, was the emblem of purified and hallowed Humanity."

"The doctrine of the Atonement is peculiarly the pillar of the doctrine of Justification, which is justly regarded as the

basis of the whole Christian doctrine of faith, and which we so fully approve, that we have scarcely anything to say upon it. It coincides almost entirely with our idea of *humility*, through which the pious soul, in a sense of its own guilt, bows down before the Holy One, and in thankfulness to Eternal Love finds consolation; and we recommend this as the true antidote against that recent moral theology, which evidently lays too much weight on morality, and against which, it is as effective as against the Catholic doctrine of satisfaction and work-righteousness. Not by works and our own merits, which however great according to a finite measure, yet always disappear before the absolute holiness of God, but only by the grace of God, can man be saved."

Man is brought into the right state of mind towards God, or justified, only when leaving his own fluctuating passions and vain thoughts, he puts his trust in God, as manifest in his spotless Son, and regarding him as the Author and Finisher of faith, presses on to the mark of the prize of his high calling.

We close our view of De Wette's doctrinal opinions with a single remark regarding the last branch of the subject of salvation, or the doctrine of the "last days," *eschatology.* He regards, as most Christians do, our Lord's declaration of the last judgment and future punishment, as figurative expressions of solemn truths. He considers Jesus to declare in fearful emblems the future retribution, that sin brings upon itself. At the same time he cannot think, that after the death of the sinner, Divine Providence has no further means of acting on his depraved mind, and restoring him to holiness and happiness. But he strongly deprecates any kind of preaching, that will lead the sinner to go on in sin, and, in face of the awful warnings of the Savior, defer making his peace with God, till the grave shall have shut its irrevocable gate upon him, and he is summoned into the presence of his final Judge.

We now approach the last point, and can give but a hasty glance at our author's view of practical Theology. The aim of practical Thelogy is the religious education of the people. The great means of giving the people a religious education consists in the formation of a Spiritual Brotherhood, and in a public religious service; the latter to be doctrinal, and thus addressed to the understanding, and symbolical, and thus addressed to the imagination and affections.

Jesus did not come to found an exclusive spiritual community, or church, that should be marked by fixed external rites, but in order to build up the kingdom of God. He declared this in his conversation with the Samaritan Woman, and further in his reply to the Pharisees, who asked, when the kingdom of God should come. Thus his revelation appears purely spiritual and divine: but the institution of fixed ecclesiastical forms, however perfect they might be, must always have been a human work, and would have hindered the free development of the Christian Church: and Christ would not have been the Eternal Savior and Redeemer, but merely the founder of an outward religion, as Moses was, which in time must have given place to another more perfect. The kingdom of God, as a purely holy and blessed community of spirit, began at the moment, when Christ as a divine intelligence and sinless man, was recognised as the beginning and head of this kingdom, and those acknowledging him gathered in faith and love around his person. And what Christ did for the foundation of his kingdom on earth consists in this, that he established this moral and religious community, through which the Eternal Spirit is realized upon earth. This community is in will and deed; and has no other form, than Life itself, and an historical connexion with its founder. He has bequeathed to it but two forms, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, which as forms of profession and communion with him afford an outward and visible centre. In early Christian days there were no forms of association for the purposes of profession and worship, besides these two rites, except a strict fellowship in reference to the teachings and life of him, from whom this new spirit had gone forth, and in reference to the Old Testament, whose history and doctrine in him found their full development. But the more this union increased and extended itself, the more the primitive spirit departed, the more the free Christian life was narrowed down by the establishment of creeds, ceremonies, and hierarchies. Even the Protestant Reformation, although its great principle consisted in going back to the Bible, as the only standard, was too much disposed to place its own interpretations and creeds between man and the Savior, and impose human limitations upon the right of individual judgment. But the true ground upon which the Christian Church rests is not any fixed standard of faith, drawn up by men, but that historical communion with Christ, which is to be maintained, on the

side of the reason, by profession of faith in him and in the Bible, as the historic fountain of truth, but not according to any fixed dogmatic interpretation; and on the side of feeling and action by a spiritual brotherhood, and by such symbols as shall touch the heart with a lively sense of religious truth. And it is firmly believed, that the Protestant Church is strongly inclined to this view, and is now on the way to free itself from all dogmatic bonds, and to form itself into a free communion. There is hope, that the mass of Christians, avoiding, on the one hand, the dogmatism that would mar and narrow, and, on the other hand, the licentiousness that would dissipate the Christian community, will unite upon one broad Scripture basis, rejoiced to find in each other a sympathy of Christian feeling, and to tolerate all differences of opinion in the interpretation of the common rule.

De Wette has many useful suggestions, as to the means of diffusing a religious spirit among the people.* He uniformly shows himself the same friend of spiritual religion, and the same foe of narrow dogmatism. He would have the young made fully acquainted with the Christian history, and their hearts imbued with faith and love, and their brains not vexed with the subtle speculations of scholastic dogmatism. He would have all the great events of the church so celebrated, as to touch the feelings of the people, and bring the holy truths of religion down to the hearts and senses of mankind. Christmas, the festival of happy childhood and the glad hopes of humanity; Easter, the festival of martyr self-sacrifice, the martyr's immortal crown and the power of faith in the eternal life; Pentecost, the day sacred to human brotherhood and the descent of the Holy Spirit, that gives to man an assurance of a Heavenly Father; all these events in the Christian Church he would have celebrated by appropriate and touching rites. He would connect religion, as nearly and dearly as possible, with all the affections and interests of human life, that every scene may be hallowed by Christian love, every action be guided by Christian principle, and all existence cheered by the glad light of Christian faith. He would have all the youth submit to the rite of confirmation, and by this beautiful ceremony express their faith in Christ, and their intention to enter on the duties of life, as good citizens and faithful Christians. He would con-

* Ueber die Religion. Lecture XX.

nect religion with all occasions of national rejoicing and national distress. He would establish a yearly festival in commemoration of those who have died during the year. He owns the wisdom of the saying, that every sermon should be an occasional one, and would have the preacher avail himself of every means of giving a religious air to current events. Even prayer, he says, gains new power and significance by some living expressive reference.

Friend as he is to Christian Union, he does not expect nor desire entire conformity in the manners and opinions of different churches. He only desires, that all communions should not attach too much importance to outward forms, but should seek to show their sympathy not only by mingling in each other's worship on all occasions of common interest, but by a free and hearty fellowship in private society and devotion.

He recommends many improvements in church services both in music and architecture, and in preaching and prayer. He insists much on the necessity of throwing more of the religious spirit into common literature, art, and life; and by his own noble example he has taught this doctrine, better than by words. Some perhaps may wonder at his taste in church music, but as for our unmusical ear, we like his view of the subject. He objects to the use of the organ in churches, as giving to sacred song a false aid, that cramps its free utterance and expression; and because the organ is so often trusted to some tasteless performer, and is made to produce such artificial ornaments and ungodly flourishes. He is inclined to prefer a choir of only four voices, without an organ, who shall be assisted by a chorus of all the singers in the congregation.

We have now given an imperfect survey of De Wette's most important theological opinions. We have seen what are his notions of man's capacities for religion, — the great religious ideas of reason and revelation, — the historic development of these ideas in the Christian Revelation; — his views of the Deity, of man, and man's reconciliation with God, and finally of some of the means of giving religion a practical application to human life.

In finishing our notice, we have only to remark upon the good influence, which his works will tend to have upon the religion of our own country. Our religion is too formal and dogmatic; he would teach us to infuse more life and feeling

into our faith. Our religion is too little connected with common events, with nature, with poetry, with literature and society; he will teach us to shed its hallowing influences every where, in every action to appeal to a noble idea, in every scene to behold the power and love of a Heavenly Father.

His views are admirably adapted to soften the asperities and destroy the dogmatism of the Christians among us, who are usually denominated Orthodox; and, on the other hand, to evangelize the preaching, and take away the too negative character of the professedly liberal Christians. He will teach the Orthodox to believe, that Christian faith rests upon something higher than a dogma; and he will convince many, who go by the name of Unitarians, that morality is not the whole, and that Luther's fundamental doctrine, that by faith we are to be justified, contains a truth of Scripture and of the Eternal Reason.

In the romance, Theodore, De Wette shows an exquisite knowledge of the difficulties and despondencies to which young preachers are subject. Many of our young preachers can fully sympathize with Theodore's perplexities in the choice of a subject for his sermon, and have found their homilies as little edifying to the people as he found his to be.* Indeed, in Theodore's early experiences, we read the history and behold an emblem of liberal preaching in our community, for the few years previous to its recent happy regeneration by the transition from a negative to a positive manner, and by a fresh infusion of the spirit of life.

It was not easy for Theodore to make choice of a subject for his first sermon; and when finally he had fixed upon one, it seemed to him, that his mode of treating it was cold and dry, and he carefully elaborated it twice over. At last he was ready, and the day of his preaching came. The whole village went forth to hear him, the church was quite full, and not one of his own family absent.

The sermon treated of prayer and its efficacy, and the main doctrine of it was as follows: We ought to pray for spiritual good, for virtue, and wisdom, and to leave to God all that concerns our worldly welfare; if we pray thus and earnestly, we shall be certain of being heard, since the earnest prayer brings with it an earnest will to share the divine goodness, and thus

* Book I. ch. ii.

the human will becomes one with the divine. Theodore's delivery was declared to be excellent for a beginner, and his appropriate demeanor was commended. The old parson was the first to give his opinion of the merits of the discourse. He praised not only the good delivery, but also the clear and simple arrangement of the discourse; but he deemed the contents too merely intellectual and abstract, and the view given of prayer not wholly scriptural and correct. "The Christian," said he, "can pray for temporal, as well as spiritual good, if like Christ, he adds, 'not my will, but thine be done.' And then you have forgotten," he added, "that we before all things ought to pray for power to do good, without which our best efforts avail nothing."

Theodore had no wish to argue with him, since he was eager to see what impression his sermon had made upon his mother, and he hastened home. He found her in deep emotion. "This sermon," said she "has singularly affected me. I know not whether I ought to be glad or sorry on account of it. I see, that you can become a good preacher, but I fear you were in the right in calling this new doctrine very different from the old. I was never taught to believe in your view of prayer, nor do I now pray in such a manner. You know, that I believe in having obtained of God the former recovery of your sainted father, and shall I not pray daily for you and Frederica? Ought I to give it up?"

This touched Theodore with deep sorrow. He cried, "No, no, dear mother, you ought not to give it up," and fell weeping into her arms. His heart was conquered, but not his head.

His sister Frederica said, that he preached like the new fashioned preacher in the next city, whereby she unintentionally touched him to the heart, since he was aware, that this preacher had in the beginning attracted large audiences by the charm of novelty, but now he declaimed to an empty church.

Theodore spoke in the afternoon with some villagers of an intelligent class; and these could not conceal from him that he had given no edification by his discourse.

He was not discouraged, but sought to succeed better by avoiding in his next discourse all doctrinal points, and preached on self-control. But his sermon gave no more satisfaction, than the other, either to the mother or to the old minister. The latter said, that the Bible was indeed full of moral precepts; but the great aim is not so much to present an outline of moral

duty, as to wake the inner life, and quicken the love and zeal for morality. He blamed Theodore for not referring more to the life of Christ, which is in itself the best teacher and inspiration to morality.

But he found a way to rise above this cold moral preaching, and to address the heart as well as the head, to quicken the Holy Spirit, as well as convince the critical understanding. In his early troubles and final regeneration, he is no unfit emblem of liberal Christianity among us.

He is an example too, and De Wette also is an example, of a philosophical mind going through all the mazes of speculation and doubt, and finally sitting at the feet of Jesus, and in humble faith, entering the kingdom of heaven like a little child. Be his course an encouragement to all, who share the trouble of his early doubts,—be his final faith and piety a rebuke to those timorous believers, who are ever ready to cry out *anathema* against those, who show a philosophical spirit of inquiry, and may chance to exhibit some doubts and errors upon the subject of Christianity.

There are among us Christians, who like Theodore became such through the path of free philosophical inquiry. There are others, who like John can submit to the authority of councils and creeds, and rest an unquestioning faith in the letter of the church standards. Well will it be for the latter, and well for the Church of our God, if these last will show to the former the mild and faithful spirit of the pious John, the true-hearted friend of the skeptical Theodore. Instead of rebuking his friend's free inquiry and philosophical tendencies, this simple-hearted Christian readily saw the difference between his own and his friend's character, and encouraged him to follow out his inquiries, and cheered him with the trust, that truth and faith would one day dawn upon him, who in faith sought the truth, scorning alike servile deference to the bondage of creeds, and hypocritical fawning before the prejudices of society.

One day, after some warm discussions between them upon religious subjects, and John had shown much solicitude on account of his friend's wavering faith, he came to Theodore with brightened eyes and said;* "I have given up all anxiety on your account. Only be of good cheer. The Lord leads you

* Book I. ch. i.

a different way from me, — the way of a severe trial, and will bring you to a happy issue. The Apostle says, 'There remain to us faith, hope, love, these three, but the greatest of them is love;' only abide in love, and faith and hope will return to you."

"Love until death," replied Theodore, "fervent love for truth and virtue, — for all that is good, great, and lovely."

May such spirit unite all the friends of the free faith, as it is in Jesus; and by whatever pathway, whether by unquestioning evangelical belief, or by earnest philosophical inquiry, may all confess one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.

S. O.

ART. II. — *The Music of Nature; or, An Attempt to prove that what is passionate and pleasing in the Art of Singing, Speaking, and Performing upon Musical Instruments, is derived from the Sounds of the Animated World. With curious and interesting Illustrations.* By WILLIAM GARDINER. Boston: J. H. Wilkins & R. B. Carter. 1837. 8vo. pp. 505.

THIS is almost the first specimen we have had of anything like the *literature of music.* It is a sign, too, of our increasing musical taste, which could justify so beautiful a reprint of so beautiful a work. It cannot but raise the popular idea of the power, the depth, and the resources of this noble art. We have rarely seen musicians with philosophy enough to analyze, or general culture enough to describe the wonders in which they live and move. But here is an approach at least, not wholly unsuccessful, to a power of translating music into words. And the secret of it is, the author's habitual intercourse alternately with nature, and with the concert room, the orchestra, the choir, and all the little worlds which Handel, Beethoven, Weber, have peopled with their thoughts. His ears are always open; he walks and listens and is constantly tracing correspondences between audible nature and his own favorite art. He detects in all the common sounds of life the elements, which he finds inwoven into the most subtle tissues of melody and harmony. Here then is quite a discovery; music may be described. This

most mysterious, vague, and evanescent form of beauty, this language of the heart, baffling all attempts of the understanding to hold it fast and define it, has yet in many respects a common origin with spoken language. Nameless itself, yet it may be resolved into its elementary phrases, which are idealized copies of sounds in nature, which we all have names for. Thus the outward form and feature of the thing, if not its essence, may be described; and this is as far as words can go in any case. Mr. Gardiner, in his beautiful descriptions of passages of music, proves two things: that in the world of sound, art and nature are full of correspondences, and that in both departments he has been a close observer. He has loved music with his whole soul, and nature has given him a copious vocabulary wherewith to make his love somewhat intelligible to others. How far this may be carried cannot be conjectured: far enough certainly to recall with tolerable distinctness the essential features of a composition which one has heard before, and to single out, and hold up to critical comparison, characteristic passages, or combinations of harmony. In this way it is opening the door to a new branch of literature, *musical criticism*, a thing alike needed for the cause of pure taste, and for the vindication to music of her true place among the sister spirits of the Beautiful, of her equal share in human culture. We hope the example of Mr. Gardiner will be followed, and that lovers of music will exercise themselves in this power of *describing* its marvellous effects, till it can be talked about enough to become a fair subject of criticism, till its origin, its nature, and its principles can be shown and settled, till it shall be rescued from its low name, as a sensual amusement of the ignorant, and raised to the dignity of an art, which learning and feeling, and the highest moral and intellectual refinement shall love, and cherish, and explore.

The manner in which this book is thrown together forbids an exhaustive criticism. It has no form nor progress; it is as miscellaneous, as nature is to the common eye. From its title we expect a formal dissertation on the origin of music in the sounds of the animated world. But its contents are a perfect medley of all matters relating to music, — a musical Encyclopedia without the alphabetical order. It is rather a curious, than a philosophical book; and charms more by its various, lively observation, than by any depth or unity. It contains no theory of music, but thousands of curious facts and observa-

tions to illustrate a theory, or draw a theory from. It is the more interesting, perhaps, for its very superficiality. It does not explain, it does not aspire to causes; but it cheerfully and industriously gathers together facts, and compares them, and traces resemblances and analogies between them. In this way it contributes something to what may be called the *Natural History* of music, — the first step certainly towards a well-grounded philosophy of music, which shall comprehend its unity and find its fundamental *Idea.*

We open the book and find chapters upon everything: — descriptions of the vocal organs; the analysis of speech; the art of singing; critical notices of distinguished vocalists, interspersed with chapters explaining the little graces and artifices of music, such as the *Slide*, the *Shake*, the *Appogiatura*, the *Sostenuto*, &c.; the sounds of birds, insects, and animals, reduced to notation; historical descriptions of all the musical instruments, and of what they each contribute to the higher developments of music; brief elementary treatises on the science of harmony, and melody, and modulation; remarks on great composers and on the process of composition; speculations on the analogy between sounds and colors; descriptions of passages from the works of Haydn, Beethoven, &c; selections from the same for the piano, many of them truly gems; and a great variety of anecdotes, which run away from the subject so easily, as to betray the habitual story-teller. From all this confusion of data, the philosophical reader may draw his own conclusion; and certainly no one can be more likely to be drawn than that contained in the title of the book. The most striking feature in it is, the author's attentive familiarity with the sounds of nature. This it is, evidently, which has helped him to tell us all these things about music; and thus it may well be called the Music of Nature.

We value the book, then, for its descriptions of music, for the glimpse it affords us into the almost infinite resources of the Art, and for the physical explanation of many of its little arts of expression; we may add too, for the pleasant autobiography which it presents of a musical character, of one of the sunnier and more curious spirits, who live in the realm of sounds. But we cannot say, that the writer has shown us music in its highest, essential character, or has understood its true nature and purpose. He has hardly got farther than to regard it as an imitation of nature, and as one of the natural media of ex-

pression. What is its foundation in the eternal nature of the soul, what it ministers to the soul's culture, and how it is related to the other arts, — these are questions which we hope to hear answered, whenever the philosopher and the musician shall meet in one person. That this higher criticism of music has remained so unexplored, is owing perhaps to two causes. The first is in the essential nature of music. It has to do with feeling, emotion; and, as a general rule, they who feel most, reflect least; they who know its power, the genuine lovers of music, are men of sensibility and spontaneous life, little given to the analysis of their own mental states. It is a problem for another age, to reconcile the spontaneous with the reflective tendency in a life; and then perhaps we shall have a philosophy of music. The other cause is historical. Music, though called the first-born of the arts, attained its growth the last of all. Sculpture culminated in Greece; Painting in the middle age. But Music in the ancient time was but the handmaid of poetry; and whatever instrumental music there was, was merely an imitation of the voice, or a simple accompaniment to keep the voice up. *Pure* music, as such, that is, instrumental music, only became an independent art in the last century, in the hands of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, and finally of Beethoven, who carried it up into the infinite, bounding all human conception since his own. It is only in the realm of instrumental music that the true philosophy of music can be found; for that alone is music proper; the orchestra is its highest external development. We are as yet, then, in its infancy; and except among the Germans, little philosophy or higher criticism can be expected.

In this connexion we cannot refrain from using Mr. Gardiner's book for illustrations, while we attempt to give an idea, somewhat higher than the popular idea, of what music is. We start from the low popular view; and this must be our excuse for descending to the proof of what ought to be matter of feeling and above proof.

In the first place, the pleasure derived from music is more than a physical pleasure. It is more than an agreeable sensation; it is not all over when the excited nerve has ceased to vibrate; it lives on in the mind; it becomes an idea there, a feeling. It is not without its lasting influence upon the heart, the imagination, the whole upward striving of the soul. Have we explained the beauty of Nature or Art, when we know all about the

eye and the optic nerve, and the physical laws of light and color? Have we discovered the grand mystery of poetry and eloquence in any analysis of the vocal organs and the rudiments of speech? Will a finer "*ear*" make a Mozart? There is nothing in this world without its spiritual meaning. We converse with it through our senses; but it enters the eye or the ear that it may plant seeds in that unknown Infinite, which we call our soul. That snatch of melody, which I hear to-day, never to hear again, perhaps, — never to recall, even in memory, in its right order, — shall not be lost, but shall be part of me in a higher sphere of being, ages hence. Some little song, heard and forgotten in boyhood, even now determines somewhat my affections, my aspirations, and colors the whole ideal which floats before me. Where is it that we experience music? Not in the senses, where we do food and hunger, warmth and cold; but in the seat of deep sentiments, in the seat of Reason and Imagination, and Love and Faith, where only thought, poetry, eloquence, beauty are privileged to enter. There are men, who live in music, as others do in philosophy or poetry. It is their world; the giving and receiving of it is their life. Are these men mere sensualists, amusing themselves forever? In all this harmony which they drink in, pour forth, and leave written, are they not letting us commune with their spirits? To a musical mind, who can rightly appreciate what he hears, an Oratorio, a Sonata, a Symphony tells the whole story of its author; his life is in it, as much as ever poet's life was in his song. There are styles in music, which betray, not various art, but various character of heart and mind. There is but one Beethoven, — one Rossini. Is it that they have such peculiar "ears"? and do we say, such an *ear* loves such a style of harmony? The whole process by which music is composed, is analogous to that of literature. It is prompted by a heart full to necessity of utterance; it is conceived in the mind, like thought; it is written down, and read, and meets response in other minds and hearts; and, when made popular, it tinctures more or less the popular thinking and feeling and living. Haydn wrote his music as a scholar writes his books. He kept his musical common-place book, in which he noted down such floating airs and snatches of melody, as his fancy gave birth to in his casual moods; and to this he would resort for the theme of some sprightly Allegro, or tender melancholy Andante, when one of his sublime orchestral Symphonies was

to be written. Who, that has admired that popular little piece, called "Weber's Last Thought," can doubt what a pure and heavenly spirit breathed its farewell to earth in that most melancholy, yet confiding and consoling strain? It was his Swan-song, fit melody to die by. So does all that is beautiful or sublime in music stand for some deep inward experience, reminding the hearer, or waking within him some vague prophetic intimation of the same. Is it still doubted that it is a thing of the soul, and not of sensation merely? Look at the aged Beethoven, totally deprived of the sense of hearing, yet ministering still in the temple of harmony, and composing his sublimest works with an enthusiasm, which seemed to need no physical excitement. But who ever knew any sensual gratification to survive the sensibility of the organ? When was ever "the hungry edge of appetite cloyed by bare imagination of a feast"? This fact alone lifts music from the rank of physical pleasures.

But further; the time devoted to music is not merely so much spent in pleasure. When we speak of it as an amusement at all, we wrong a noble Art. The true lover of music may not be passive. It is an art which always begets enthusiasm, without which there can be nothing noble, in study or in action. The realm of the Beautiful tolerates no idlers, no self-seekers; to such it has nothing to show; duty, devotion is the first law there. They, who have once entered and caught a glimpse of its glories, must labor, or they shall see no more. So much holier is enthusiasm than pleasure. He, in whose breast this chord has once vibrated, whether at the touch of music, or poetry, or of aught in action, which may be called beautiful, feels that he has no right to rest longer where he is; there is something excellent demanding his pursuit,—a bright ideal flying before him; if he reach it, it crumbles in his hand, and another brighter from its ashes soars far above him, and so onward and upward to unimaginable perfection.

In this point of view music would be ennobled in public estimation by an acquaintance with the lives of some of its great masters. Haydn toiled in his profession with a gigantic industry, hardly second to that of Michael Angelo. Almost in infancy he eagerly improved every slightest opportunity, which could develop his talent. Too poor to purchase Lessons in Thorough Bass, he got hold of an old treatise on the subject, which with infinite pains he deciphered, studying

day and night, in an old garret, without fire, almost without food, proving all, as fast as he learned, upon a rickety old harpsichord, making a thousand little discoveries of his own by the way, which astonished the musical world in his first compositions. Chance at length threw him in the way of a cross old music master, whose favor he slowly won by the most sedulous attentions and menial services, till he gave him some instruction in counterpoint. He was now prepared to enter the field as a composer. He drew his inspiration from Nature, and delivered music from the stiff mechanical rules of the contrapuntists, taking for the basis of every composition the Air, the natural melody of the heart. For food for his imagination he diligently collected all the ancient national melodies of all nations. From this time forward his studies seldom fell short of sixteen hours a day. And the number of compositions of his own, which he enumerated in his old age, is almost incredible. Where, in the annals of pleasure, shall we find instances of a devotion like this? The inference to be drawn from it is, not that all the world should be Haydns, but that any pursuit, which can so totally absorb the whole energies of one man, and that a man of genius, cannot be without its significance to all men. That must be a popular element, which can completely occupy, without exhausting, any one man's life. The secret of the superhuman strength and perseverance of genius in its own department is, that it labors to perfect one of the universal, everlasting elements of human nature, and thus unites itself with the heart and soul of all times, has the sympathy of all humanity (in the long run) with it in its work. Michael Angelo, Haydn, Milton, Plato could not have toiled so consistently and so long, if we and all men had not some interest in their labors.

Not in finer nerves, then, nor in the love of pleasure, arose the charm of music; but in something deeper. There is something within us, the deepest and best which we are conscious of, which we cherish ever, but can never express, until the Beautiful in a scene, a poem, a painting, or a song, surprises us as being the fit expression of our very feeling, — so true to it, that we cannot help thinking that we long ago and always anticipated it, and should have produced it ourselves, had we only learned the craft of rhyming, or coloring, or composing harmony. Music is one of the Fine Arts, which all minister in various ways, through various physical organs and senses,

to the soul's everlasting want of the Beautiful. No soul is contented with the actual. The Beautiful is all that it finds in this world to soothe its discontent: *there* is something it can love; *there* is something it can trust, and go out without reserve to meet; for it is an emblem, at least, of all that in its deepest faith, in its silent longings it had cherished. It is this which prevents us from settling down into a mechanical, unprogressive state. But for this we should not know that we are meant for anything better than we are. The Beautiful makes us yearn to be perfect; it makes us feel that heaven is our home; it is our present heaven. The Beautiful, come in what shape it will, is something which we take home to us: it speaks to our heart of hearts; there is a certain mystery in it, which we feel concerns *us;* we are always the ones spoken to,—just as some portraits look at every one who comes into the room. No one, who is completely entranced in a landscape, a picture, a song, can doubt for a moment that here he is in his place. These things converse with his ideal nature. In this is the origin and the final cause of Poetry and the Arts, music among the rest. This is the secret of its spell. It reveals to the ravished listener so much within him, it whispers to him the possibility of embracing so much of the infinite world without him, that he abandons himself to the high influence, and ever after aspires to something nobler.

This ideal tendency in man, from time immemorial, created music along with poetry and the fine arts. Music has this in common with them all, that they are all *beautiful*, and that they are all a *language* of thoughts, feelings, sentiments. It differs from poetry in being vague, while poetry calls up definite thoughts or images by words. It differs from painting and sculpture in the same thing, and also by its being a direct expression of feelings, which they never are. Music through feelings calls up the objects with which those feelings are associated; painting and sculpture through objects call up feelings. Music appeals directly to the feelings; these set the imagination to work, recalling and supposing scenes and images. Painting and sculpture appeal at once to the imagination; the scene or the form before us, then we begin to feel. Music describes through emotions; painting and sculpture move through descriptions. A song draws tears of gratitude and fondest recollection, and instantly we think of the old cottage and the happy circle. The painter paints us the old cottage, and instantly we yearn to other days.

This, then, is what is most characteristic of music: It alone, of all arts and languages, is a direct expression of the feelings of the heart. So that, were this part of our nature developed, the most obvious and spontaneous utterance of feeling would probably be not words, but music. Music properly is the only language which is pathetic. Poetry is so only by the tones in which it is read, or in which we imagine that it should be read. Music is quicker understood than words. Words are arbitrary, and require to be learned before they mean anything; — only fellow countrymen can talk together. But music is a universal language; — the same tones touch the same feelings the world over. Spoken languages address the understanding; when they would interest the feelings, they pass at once into the province of music; then it matters not so much what is said, as in what tones it is said. When an emotion would utter itself, words are nothing, tones are everything. We instinctively recognise the peculiar notes of joy and anguish, triumph and despair, consolation, pity, and entreaty; they need no words to interpret them. These uniform and instinctive tones, modulations, cadences, smooth slides, and abrupt starts of the voice are the original elements of music. Art only uses its privilege to add to them beauty, or rather to combine them always with reference to a beautiful effect, and then they become music. Out of the natural, instinctive utterances of human feelings, passions, and aspirations, combined with the love of the Beautiful, music grew.

Thus we see how distinct and important a province it holds in the culture of the soul. Each great principle of our nature has its own peculiar language, which addresses immediately the same principle in others. The language of the will is action; of thought, words; of the imagination, painting, sculpture, architecture; of feeling, music. All these powers grow by expressing themselves. Every voluntary action gives a man so much more will; every genuine utterance of thought in words increases so much the power and the habit of thinking; every image, which the mind shapes to itself and embodies, leaves the mind so much the more imaginative. So the genuine love of music begets enthusiasm, sensibility, fervor, all those qualities which unite and blend men together, by merging the private interest in the common feeling, the narrow, partial opinion in the universal aspiration.

Mr. Gardiner's book is full of illustrations of the fact, that all

natural utterances of emotion are musical. This he has verified by a great deal of ingenious research, not only in the human voice, but he has extended it to the sounds of the whole animated world. He gives us the songs of birds and the cries of animals written down in musical notes. The "minor mood" in music is but a copy of the plaintive tones of grief, when the voice, through lack of light-hearted energy, falls ever short of the note it would reach.

Instrumental music is as remarkable for its expressive power, as song, — indeed, in some respects more so. Instruments, having greater compass and flexibility, and, compared with average voices, greater purity of tone, can wind through the subtlest labyrinths of melody. Instrumental music too is freer. Unconfined by any verbal application to definite thoughts, the heart and the imagination revel in most adventurous excursions upon the mighty deep. The feeling, which is not fettered by a thought, is most likely to be universal; for our thoughts are all partial and limited. Some of the Sonatas of Beethoven and Haydn, as we learn to appreciate them, like the deepest poetry, seem to express all the deepest undefined yearnings of the soul. If we cannot readily and certainly conjecture their meaning, we instinctively catch their spirit; they win us to the mood in which they were written; the feelings they express are not of time, so that hearts in all times, and places, and circumstances are not excluded from a full response. Mr. Gardiner says of Beethoven, that some Quartettes, written during his deafness, "anticipate that feelings of a future age." Why may not this be true, when much of his music, which is now, by common consent, placed at the summit of the art, quite confounded the mechanical musicians in the day of it, and was thought crazy and unmeaning?

For the same reason, in pathetic songs too much should not be unfolded in the words. In the union of poetry with music the effect is lost, if the poetry be not the simplest possible. If it be more than a single thought, a mere theme, just hinting the explanation of the curiously complicated melody, and no more, it clogs the free movements and deadens the charm of the music. Music claims always to be principal or nothing. Out of a few words it can unfold infinite meaning; but, where the words are a discourse in themselves, there is more thought than feeling, and music is out of place. The charm of the old melodies, the songs and ballads, of which we never grow weary,

lies in this. In that song of songs, in Handel's Messiah, "*I know that my Redeemer liveth,*" a few familiar lines, a single verse, just expressing the thought and no more, are expanded into several long strains of music. Hence the air is one unbroken outpouring of triumphant faith and gratitude, and serene joy, the richer and the fuller, that it has not to adapt itself to changing thoughts, but is left at liberty to follow the natural course of fervent feeling, and to cling with fondest repetition to the one ever dear and holy theme. No less expressive and delicately true to all our associations with the words is the air, "*He shall feed his flocks,*" and "*Come unto him, all ye that labor.*" What consolation does not that exquisite strain whisper to the anxious mind! We open ourselves to that song, and are perfectly happy; it glides invisibly into the profoundest labyrinths of the breast, and unlocks all the fountains of joy and peace within us; it changes the whole aspect of things around us; everywhere we are met with smiles; we feel that we are no longer alone in the world, and yield ourselves with sweet resignation into the arms of Providence. Then we discover, perhaps for the first time, how chaste, and pure, and serene a state is that happiness, which we seek with such mistaken struggles of unhallowed, unquiet desire. All the preaching in the world does less to teach us Christian resignation, than such a song, which gives us a foretaste of the very feeling.

A few words as to the descriptive power of music. In some of the most graphic orchestral pieces, hearing and seeing become one; we begin to doubt almost if the eye is necessarily the organ of vision, so analogous are sounds with forms and colors the moment we cease to hear them superficially, but get lost in the spirit of them. It was the simultaneous remark of more than one, who heard Caradori sing, that her highest, purest, sprightliest tones seemed like points of light, stars dancing in the air. Everything which intently occupies the mind, the mind paints to itself again in images; it translates all its notions into vision, and that so rapidly as almost to fancy that it *sees* them in the first instance. It is by some such law of the mind as this that music becomes descriptive. But it does not directly describe, like speech or painting. It interests the feelings first; these the imagination, and then come up the scenes, the forms, the faces. Our emotions have all a creative power; our passions are artists; they surround themselves with the fit landscape; they people the void with forms and faces,

and all objects familiar, or fantastic, or radiant with divine ideal beauty. Music too is vague; and therefore describes even the more powerfully. It wakes the feeling, which is one in all; but it leaves each individual heart to clothe its feeling in its own hues and forms. Music too is partly imitative. It borrows many sounds from nature; and the resources of the art are gradually enlarging, and seem capable of indefinite enlargement, by a diligent observation of the sounds which pervade the air. The wind, the ocean, the rustling grove, the murmuring brook, the hum of insects, — the rush, the start, the crash, the flow, the roll, the impatient bound, all appear in new qualities of tone, and new species of rhythmical motion. The "*reed-stop*" of the organ reminds you at once of the mysterious, soul-like music of the wind, sifted through the tiny leaves of the pine grove. In Handel's Messiah, at the words, "*Suddenly there was a multitude of the heavenly host praising God,*" the air is filled with the quick undulations of wings by the stringed instruments of the orchestra. At the words, "*I will shake the heavens and the earth,*" the whole mighty mass of sound quivers to its base. In such music the orchestral accompaniments form the dark back-ground, or deep undefined substratum, the world in shadow, whence the voices emerge into distincter light, like the prominent figures in a great painting.

But music never copies nature literally; if it does it fails. It uses the privilege of art to idealize whatever it represents; it views all things in a picturesque light. The harshest sounds in the description of a battle or a storm are as if heard from a distance, where they are blended in with all other sounds and harmonized. If it use a discord, it is only to prepare the ensuing concord with a more beautiful effect. Beauty, beauty is the object of all the arts. They may copy nature; but always they do something more; they create, they impart to every picture something of their own. They contemplate nature from a loftier position, and impart a spiritual unity and beauty to that which looks deformed and contradictory to the vulgar observer. It is a remarkable fact, however, that nature herself idealizes in the first instance; she gives the hint to the artist. As, seen afar off, the most vulgar and incongruous objects make up one sweet picture, so all sounds, however harsh and jarring singly, become blended into the general music of the air, so that one ground-tone pervades them all, and swallows up their

discords. The tremendous roar of Niagara is musical and pleasing, because it so completely pervades the air; everything around for miles has adopted its vibration, and the effect is one deep, soul-satisfying harmony; it does not disturb, but fills and delights the ear. So it is with the roar of the ocean, particularly on a beach, where there is a rhythm with the harmony. But the sharp, petulant prattle of smaller falls, like those at Trenton, forbids all music, and distracts and crazes one, whose ear is sensitive. So soon as an object becomes vast enough to be called sublime, it is beautiful. So with sounds. So soon as they become grand enough, not to check, but to swallow up all other sounds, they become Music. The most complicated wonders of musical art therefore have nature for their authority.

Such are some of our speculations, the greater part of them experiences, about music. We might continue them much farther; but feel that we shall be gratifying more readers, by making our own remarks give place to some specimens of our author's power of description. We quote almost at random. The following description of morning in "*The Creation*" is from the chapter on *Color.*

"The sinfonia in the *Creation*, which represents the rising sun, is an exemplification of this theory. In the commencement of this piece, our attention is attracted by a soft streaming note from the violins, which is scarcely discernible till the rays of sound which issue from the second violin diverge into the chord of the second; to which is gradually imparted a greater fulness of color, as the viols and violoncellos steal in with expanding harmony. At the fifth bar, the oboes begin to shed their yellow lustre, while the flute silvers the mounting rays of the violin, as the notes continue ascending to the highest point of brightness; the orange, the scarlet, and the purple unite in the increasing splendor, and the glorious orb at length appears refulgent with the brightest beams of harmony." — p. 189.

He thus describes his having heard Paganini.

"A breathless silence then ensued, and every eye was watching the *entré* of this extraordinary violinist, and as he glided from the side scenes to the front of the stage an involuntary cheering burst from every part of the house, many rising from their seats to view the spectre, during the thunder of this unprecedented cheering, — his gaunt and extraordinary appearance being more like that of a devotee about to suffer martyrdom, than one to delight you with his art. With the tip of his

bow he set off the orchestra in a grand military movement, with a force and vivacity as surprising as it was new. At the termination of this introduction he commenced with a soft streamy note of celestial quality; and with three or four whips of his bow elicited *points of sound* as bright as the stars. A scream of astonishment and delight burst from the audience at the novelty of this effect. Immediately execution followed that was equally indescribable, in which were intermingled tones more than human, which seemed to be wrung from the deepest anguish of a broken heart. After this the audience were enraptured by a lively strain, in which was heard, commingled with the tones of the instrument, those of the voice, with the pizzicato of the guitar, forming a compound of exquisite beauty. If it were possible to aim at a description of his manner, we should say that you would take the violin to be a wild animal, which he is endeavoring to quiet in his bosom, and which he occasionally, *fiend-like*, lashes with his bow; this he dashes upon the strings as you would whip with a walking switch, tearing from the creature the most horrid as well as delightful tones.

"He has long legs and arms, and the hands in his playing often assume the attitude of prayer, with the fingers pointed upwards. The highest notes (contrary to every thing we have learnt) are produced as the hand recedes from the bridge, overturning all our previous notions of the art. During these effects a book caught fire upon one of the desks, which burnt for some time unobserved by the musicians, who could neither see nor hear, though repeatedly called to by the audience, anything but the feats of this wonderful performer." — pp. 215, 216.

We regret that "*The Music of Nature*" does not contain all of the notes of Mr. Gardiner to "*The Lives of Haydn and Mozart*," translated from the French of Bombet. Here he has shown some of his finest powers of description. May we not hope soon to see a reprint of this interesting work? It is one of the very few works in English which treat at all worthily of the æsthetics of music.

J. S. D.

ART. III. — *The Western Messenger; devoted to Religion and Literature.* Vol. V. No. I. April, 1838. Louisville. Conducted by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

THE first number of this periodical, "devoted to religion and literature," was published at Cincinnati, in July, 1835. It began with a subscription list which it was supposed would ensure its support, as contributions were to be gratuitous; and with the not unnatural hope on the part of its conductors that every year would see this list increase. Three years have passed, and it is still struggling for mere existence. During the last spring its energetic and laborious editor, the Rev. James F. Clarke, of Louisville, feared that he should be obliged to abandon the work, or, at least, to reduce it, and would have been obliged to do one or the other, had not assistance been given him by subscriptions at Mobile. All this proves that the class of money-paying Unitarians has not grown at the West as it was hoped would be the case. It was thought that many persons, who were dissatisfied with prevalent forms of religious worship, and who knew of none more suitable to their ideas, would learn, by means of the Messenger, that a form of faith did exist with which they could sympathize. Many such persons were found, but they were, in general, little disposed to pay for the new faith that was offered them, though they might be very willing to receive it; in other words, they had no particular objection to Unitarianism, but cared very little for religion at all.

At first sight this all seems very discouraging; and, although a strong society has grown up at St. Louis under Mr. Elliott's charge, and though those at Louisville and Mobile are doing well, the general condition of Western Unitarian churches is not such as to make us feel, that our particular doctrines and views are spreading beyond the mountains as rapidly as was hoped for.

But let not these things create doubt, or lead to diminished hope and exertion. The Messenger and the Unitarian pulpits of the West are devoted not to a sectarian faith alone, but to the spread of that Christian spirit, that toleration, that humility, that independence, that true democratic love of, and respect for, all men, and that pervading piety, in the spread of which all sects may unite. We must not suppose that

Liberal Christianity can coexist with Unitarianism only; we must not suppose that we monopolize that developing quality of Christian truth, which fits it to be the religion of all time; we must not fall into the too common error of thinking that we, because convinced that we see the truth, therefore see the whole truth; that because assured we are building on the Rock of ages, that we have therefore the whole rock under us. There is, probably, not a Christian sect but is in some point more nearly right than ourselves; there is, certainly, not a Christian sect but has in it some sparks of Truth, for otherwise it were dead.

That unsectarian spirit, therefore, and those unsectarian principles, which Unitarians would diffuse, may be also diffused by those that regard Unitarianism as the worst of heresies; and let this diffusion go on, and let us look to it in all hope; for if our sectarian faith be of the truth, if it be a part of Christianity, it will by and by come in as the natural result of this diffusion. The spirit of a people moulds the faith of that people; the spirit of a man makes the faith of that man, if he be, in faith, a man, and not a vessel into which faith is poured. We are almost born Calvinists, Catholics, Swedenborgians, Universalists; for, as a man's nature is, so are his views of God and man, and thence, of religion; his nature develops, is modified, is changed, born again, and his elements of faith change likewise. If you would fix his faith, then, affect his spirit. And if you believe Unitarianism to be the truth, rest assured that the Catholic, and the Baptist, and the Presbyterian, and the Deist, while they are preaching in a Christian spirit, and aiding to spread that spirit, — are preaching Unitarianism. And doubt not that the Messenger is doing its work; it is read by many, who would as soon set a neighbor's house on fire as give support to a Unitarian publication, but who, from this periodical, may imbibe sentiments that will make them apostles of Unitarianism, if, as we have said, Unitarianism be the truth.

In the West it is, we believe, peculiarly true that Christianity in all its forms will be liberal. Narrowness and intolerance very generally result from uniformity: in the midst of a community which remains from year to year the same, and in which from year to year some dogmas are held to be the truth, and none question them, it is almost impossible but to be so convinced that they are the truth, as to feel intolerant toward those that doubt them. How can we bear with those that ques-

tion, — not our views, but the Truth itself? There is said to be a little town in our New England, where, diversity in dress being almost unknown, if one in a new-fashioned garment appear, the cry is, "Crazy man! crazy man! stone him! stone him!" and in more than one town in this region, if any dare raise his voice against prevalent views, that cry, in spirit, is echoed. From many a quiet fireside, from many a Christian "Home" in this land of ours, are the beautiful tales of Miss Sedgwick excluded, only because she is not, in her form of faith, what those are who gather round that fireside: she is from the pest-house, shun her! Is this to be counted an error of Sin? rather, we think, an error of Misfortune. Placed as those are, who are thus intolerant, if they have earnestness, they must be almost more than men and women to be other than intolerant. But let those same men and women be placed where all is changing about them, where tongues are not echoing-trumpets, but organs of individual speech, where every shade of opinion is spread before them, and poured into their ears, where the view of the truth, which they had ever thought the whole and sole truth, is held by others to be error and folly, — then must some humility come in; some dim perception that we may be fully convinced that our own views are true, and still not be so convinced as to feel authorized to act against others as in undoubted error; and thus will come a toleration, which is neither the toleration of unconcern, nor the toleration of empty words.

In the West all is changing; every shade of opinion, from North and South, the Atlantic States, England, Germany, and France, goes thither; no community there lives in an iron armor of faith; no hoary-headed Tradition has gathered disciples about its feet, and shut out unbelievers; society is there somewhat as it is in times of revolution, but without the excitement of those times, and the fanaticism which results from it. The Catholic and Protestant meet there and recognise, each in the other, a fellow-man, not a monster; the Calvinist and Unitarian meet there, and peering into each others eyes, see there images, though distorted images, of themselves. Thus is a blow struck at sectarianism, not by doing away with sects, but by increasing them: the more views of truth there are about us, the more we feel that we do not see the whole; and we can bear with those who only do not see as we see, who reject our views and not the truth itself.

We have great faith, then, that at the West, Christianity is to become liberal; that its teachers will become teachers of toleration, not in words so much, but rather in deeds. Already you may meet there in the social circle of a high professor of some form of faith the Catholic priest, the Episcopal rector, the Presbyterian divine, the Methodist minister, the Unitarian clergyman. And can honest, upright, intelligent men meet and talk, and feel, and act in unison, and not become tolerant and the teachers of tolerance? And if they do become the teachers of tolerance, they become the teachers of an unsectarian Christianity, which will advance the truth, and, of course, that form which is most akin to the truth.

There is another tendency in the West, which goes to the same end, — the tendency toward a more perfect individuality than exists in older communities. It is the result of the circumstances of that part of our country, where, a few years since, every man was to himself the whole world. It is seen now in various forms; in that disregard for the laws, that disposition in each man to be judge and executioner in his own case, which in all ages and lands has accompanied the good that flows from the same fountain; but which, we hope, may now be done away, and still the good retained. It is seen in that conventionalism abounds less; that classes are less marked; that manners are franker, more characteristic; that opinions (letting alone politics) are less partisan, more those of the man; and that extravagancies of all kinds abound. If the excellencies of this tendency can be retained, and men be led to think, feel, act more as men, and less as parts of masses, we may look for growing developments of truth, for original views, for higher theories of life, and for, the best of all, nobler and truer lives. And these things, surely, will all advance Christianity; and is it not Christianity, rather than Unitarianism, that we would advance?

One other tendency in the West we would refer to as affording us much hope. This is the very strong disposition which exists there to base society on Christian grounds; and the effort to do this is made, not by Christians only, but by many who, not yet recognising Christianity as the truth, see, dimly, portions of the truth which many Christians do not see. It is becoming more and more the feeling at the West, that we have a savor of feudalism still about our social condition, which is not only at variance with our political forms, but which is so

opposed to those forms, that it must fall, or they must. This feeling does not say, that liberty and French equality must go together, but it does say, that liberty and Christian equality must; not that it is desirable merely, but that, under the laws of nature, it is necessary, or evil will come. If you classify men, says this feeling, and to some classes give respect and moral power, whether you class on the ground of muscle, or blood, or gold, or profession, you must also give these classes physical power and arbitrary rule; for, if you do not, that ability and excellence, which abides in mechanic bosoms and the hearts of husbandmen, will see that its birthright, moral power, is given to the weak and worthless, and it will, in some form, rise against the recognised injustice. If you give individuals and not classes, then, political power, you must give them also moral power; if you do not, your political system will be at variance, the ignoble against the noble, the poor against the rich.

Now what is, socially speaking, the fact in our country? Do we practise on the Christian ground, that honor should be given to whom honor is due; that moral power should follow moral worth? Does not wealth, even inherited, does not profession, does not family, give a man an influence that he would not have of, and from, himself? If it does, what then? Will not the able and high-minded mechanic, whose voice falls unheeded on ears that catch the lightest whisper of the rich man's breath, feel himself wronged, and resent the wrong? Is not this process going on about us? Is there not something deeper at work in our political party divisions than an interest in temporary questions?

In the West there is, as we have said, a strong disposition to consider individual ability and worth, and honor them. A diploma or a pedigree will help no man; and the educated and pure may rank with the first, though penniless. The disposition is not to destroy wealth, to do away professions, but to respect them less, and men more. It is not a destructive, but a conservative disposition; it is not the friend, but the foe of agrarianism.

In this disposition we see a ground of hope for a state of society in our country, based upon the Christian principle of brotherhood; the prevalence of which, it appears to us, is the only safe support for a democratic form of government. Such a society would be a living one, bound together by natural and

vital ties; it would move, think, feel as one, and not act jarringly, like the feudal form applied to present men. This is not a living body, but an automaton, at best, and needs unceasing repair and cleaning; it might almost be called a carcass, the elements of which are striving to separate continually, and can be kept together only by the strongest antiseptics, charcoal and nitre. And if this disposition does tend toward an approximation to Christian brotherhood, we may surely look upon it as most favorable to the spread of truth. As the meekness, faith, courage, sincerity, and love that must accompany a state of Christian society increase, we may rest assured a knowledge of Christianity will increase also: "blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God."

What we have said, is said to rouse, not to discourage exertion on the part of Unitarians. They think their form of faith the nearest existing approach to Christianity; and, if so, it is the best fitted to advance all high tendencies, and has the most in sympathy with them. What we would impress is, that we need not despair because few put on the name of Unitarian; if they have a Christian spirit, and live a Christian life, it should be enough; and if the Unitarian pulpits and writers of the West aid in diffusing that spirit, and inducing that life, let us feel hope and confidence; for if our cause is the right one, it is prospering.

But in going to the West, the Unitarian must adapt himself thereto. He must learn to look for the truth that is in his opponent, and the falsehood that is in himself. If, secure in his robe of "Liberal Christianity," he is content to see the bigotry of his neighbor, but is blind to his own lukewarmness, his own formalism, he is not the apostle for that country. He must learn, too, to be individual, not merely one atom of a mass; he must have an opinion of his own, speak a mind of his own, not rest upon others, and ask daily, "What is thought about this?" And he must be prepared, too, to take his stand in the midst of a people, who, born democratic, are so situated that they must push the doctrines of democracy farther than they have yet gone; he must be prepared to take his stand on the great social truths of the Gospel; to use his utmost efforts, — not to preserve present feelings, present views, present notions, because present, for, unless based upon the truth, no power can preserve them, — but to preserve what are in his eyes Christian feelings, and Christian views.

J. H. P.

ART. IV. — *The Young Man's Aid.* By Rev. HUBBARD WINSLOW. 12mo. Boston. 1837.

WITHOUT assenting to everything contained in this book, we may say in general terms, and with reference to the main purpose of it, that it is a well executed work in the class to which it belongs, a class indeed with which the present time may be said to abound. Doubtless the fulness of the supply indicates a corresponding previous demand growing out of a want deeply and widely felt in the community; and we would fain believe, when we see the general conscience thus evincing a deeper sensibility, that it is not because the world is worse than ever before, but because it is going to be better than it has ever yet been. We would fain hope that the restless and stirring spirit of inquiry and discussion, which has infused itself into everything in life, rousing and stimulating the public mind into a most mercurial activity, in reference to all subjects of practical interest, — education, its principles and processes, — religion, its forms, its speculations, its vital principles, its mighty reforming energies, — we would fain hope that this state of things may be but a showing forth of the way in which He, who ruleth in the affairs of men, intends to overturn, overturn, overturn, until the principles of gospel love and gospel purity shall be everlastingly established.

In urging high moral and religious considerations upon thoughtless, or perverted minds, there is always a difficulty; and in addressing young men, as is the object in the work before us, this difficulty, if not greater, is stamped with a peculiar character, from the circumstance of their being young.

It is natural to the season of youth to be volatile, gay, and thoughtless, carried away by impulse and very susceptible of excitement, hasty, ardent, and impassioned; — and when experience and deep conviction call upon young people to be soberminded, thoughtful, collected, self-restrained, there is apt to arise in their breasts a feeling of opposition and resistance to the call. It seems to be an intrusion upon their liberty and their rights, and perhaps the first impulse is to repel it with rudeness; but most of them, after all, cannot find it in their hearts to do this; — they perceive, if it be an interference, to be at least well meant.

We wish never to forget what allowances are to be made for

the buoyancy and excitability of youthful animal spirits, for the imperfect development of the youthful mind, and for the deficiency of experience in early life: — and still, with all seriousness and fidelity, we would speak a word of caution to young men, in regard to some of the dangers by which they are beset, and in aid of the great purpose which drew forth the work before us. We would impress on young men, if we could, that the true preservative and defence against all their dangers is sobermindedness, or rightmindedness, — just and true views and purposes of life.

But we must not be too wide in our remarks. We shall confine ourselves to the dangers, that spring from the excitability so natural to youth; dangers we are to bear in mind, that are increased and made fearfully fatal by many pernicious habits and maxims prevailing in society, and by that unsound state of the public sentiment, which justifies those habits, and gives everlasting currency to those maxims.

We have intimated that the period of youth is peculiarly susceptible of excitement; and it is. But indeed every period of life is in some degree susceptible of it. In persons of sanguine and ardent temperament, particularly in early life, it abounds and needs to be restrained; while in those of phlegmatic and sluggish temperament, especially in the later periods of life, it is deficient, and needs to be cherished and increased; but to none, we believe, save the stupidly indolent, or the thoroughly worn out, is it wholly wanting. Excitability is one of the great propelling principles of human nature, without which the whole machinery of society would stand still, and life itself would be intolerably stupid and wearisome. It is not in itself good or bad, right or wrong. It is right when employed, under the restraint of reason and conscience, in the pursuit of any right object. It is wrong when immoderately indulged even in the pursuit of right objects, and when indulged at all in the pursuit of improper ones. The Creator implanted it in our constitution, as he did other instinctive principles, to answer great and necessary ends. But he put it there to be our servant, and not our master. It must be kept under the control of the higher principles of our nature, reason and conscience; or instead of answering the great and necessary ends for which it was given us, it will work our destruction.

This principle of excitability is in danger, as what we have

said implies, of being carried out in wrong directions, and of being indulged inordinately in right ones. Now the misfortune of the case is, that the tastes, habits, and pursuits of the community in which young men grow up, that is, in fact, the great influences which go to form their tastes, habits, and pursuits, are, in many instances, the result of misdirected or overindulged excitability. Religion has had too little to do in forming the tastes, habits, and pursuits of society. Indeed religion has had almost nothing to do with it. The great principles of conduct, by which men act and by which young men grow up to act, are far from being thoroughly christianized; and until the labors of Christian teachers shall be directed to this great, practical purpose, instead of being wasted in an idle babble of barren speculations, but little will be done to make our religion what it was designed to be, a living scheme of principles and conduct for all who wear its name. We proceed to consider a few great particulars, in which the excitability of young men has always been, and still is wrongly or inordinately called forth by the prevalence of unchristian views and practices in the community around them.

One of the most common, and we must say most degrading ways in which, in all past ages, human excitability has found a vent for itself, (and it still does but too much so, though not now to such excess as heretofore,) has been in the horrible and murderous spirit and practices of war. It is curious to observe with what art and knowledge of human nature everything, connected with the wicked business of *setting men to kill each other* LAWFULLY, has been managed so as to foster and work up to a maddening pitch all the excitability of human nature. As if it were apprehended that men would not of themselves be hard-hearted and malignant enough for such a work as this, it has ever been a leading point of state-policy to have the ambition of young men excited by the idea of glory and popular applause, to be gained by success in arms, and their imaginations dazzled with the glitter and parade of military operations, the deference paid to military rank, the gay trappings of war, the splended uniform, the stirring sounds of marshal music; and their consciences withal soothed and cajoled by the air of religion thrown over the whole, the eulogies and prayers and funeral honors, the approving voice of good and pious men, ministers of the gentle and lowly Jesus, defending upon principle the bloody system of overcoming

evil with evil, violence by violence: — all these means and contrivances have been resorted to, — and more in former ages than in this, — to nurse the young and excitable heart to deeds of unnatural ferocity, and to justify such deeds to that heart, by impiously writing upon them the beautiful name of religion.

Let it not be said that, because our young men live in a community where war, with its excitements, is not at present known, there is therefore no danger to their characters from this source. The doctrine and the spirit of war, hostile as they are to the doctrine and the spirit of Christianity, pervade the atmosphere in which we live. They give a tone to conversation upon the passing events of the day; they are the very breath of the newspaper; they deeply tinge our popular literature; the speeches of governors, statesmen, and politicians are imbued with them; they are an all-pervading element in our constitutions and laws; — indeed we have them perpetually proclaimed and set forth in mimic exhibition in our annual trainings and musters and reviews, those nurseries, not only of a warlike disposition, but of the vices usually associated with it, intemperance and profaneness.

This ceaseless recognisance and justification of sentiments and practices, so congenial to the workings of fiery and excited passions, and so opposed to the teachings and spirit of the Gospel, must put fearfully at hazard all soberness of thinking and feeling in many young men. Indeed the danger strikes deeper than this; even to the establishing in the minds of those sober and reflective young people, whose influence in the community for good or for evil will one day be incalculably great, such unworthy and unsound views of what the religion of Jesus teaches in regard to peace and war, as almost to reduce that religion of love to a nullity. Jesus, arraying those to whom he has said, "all ye are brethren," "by this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another," — Jesus, arraying these loving brethren in hostile bands to imbrue their hands in each others' blood! The horrible inconsistency is beginning to be felt, as it has never been felt before: and upon the young men of this day does it greatly depend to make it still more and more widely and deeply and practically felt, until war shall be universally regarded as only LEGALIZED MURDER.

The heart that breathes forth fervently the petition, "thy

kingdom come," cannot but intreat young men to be sober-minded, — rightminded on this subject, — to take just and true views of the teachings and spirit of Christ, and solemnly to form resolutions of so living as entirely to discountenance and repudiate, in all its parts, the unchristian and barbarous and bloody spirit and practices of military life. We do not ask them to crush and annihilate the excitability of their natures, which would be as insane as to recommend suicide, to prevent continuance in sin. But we ask them to watch over that excitability, and direct it to high and holy ends. Let not this noble gift of God be perverted to base uses. Let it not spend itself upon so low an aim as military glory, the titles and parade which cover up the enormity of a system, which can never operate but to augment human guilt and wretchedness. "It is good," says St. Paul, "to be zealously affected in a good thing." Let the excitability of their young hearts be consecrated to the great work of moral reform; the great work of producing in themselves, and in the whole community, a living manifestation of the great doctrines and spirit of Christianity. When they look over the land and see it polluted by war, slavery, intemperance, lewdness, and other kindred abominations, let them not be disheartened, as if there were no power even in Christianity to stay these evils; but rather, confiding in the regenerating spirit of the Gospel, rouse themselves to active and untiring effort. An encouraging voice speaks to them, "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." All those evils, and all other moral evils, must eventually yield to the power of gospel truth, enforced with the earnestness of a loving heart, and operating at once upon guilty individuals, and upon the public sentiment around them. There are doubtless other parts of Christian duty; and yet here is a field, in which, if there were no other, all the excitability of their natures might be well and nobly expended. It is a field of benevolent effort, in which, living and acting is to live well, and in which, living and acting until death is to die well.

Another way, in which, in all past time, men have found employment for their excitability, is in the inordinate pursuit of gain; and more generally, if not more inordinately, we think, in this age of enterprise and extended commerce than ever before.

We believe a life of active business habits to be very com-

patible with attaining to all the virtues and graces of the Christian character; and yet it is unquestionable, that it is a kind of life that abounds with difficulties and dangers. So many are the unhappy influences that attend that kind of life; so many loose and unprincipled maxims and practices are found in much of the business of life, which it seems almost unavoidable for a young man to fall in with and act upon; so difficult too is it to avoid catching the spirit of eager speculation, and the desire of accumulation and gain, either for its own sake, or for the sake of the consequence it may give, or with a view to the personal and selfish gratifications it may afford; — and so very difficult withal is it, amidst these influences, to maintain true spirituality of character, a consciousness of interest in the world to come, and of the treasure, worth more than all other treasures, to be realized there by those who shall be prepared to enjoy it, that, in truth, a wise young man would perhaps make choice of a more simple and retired walk in life; or, at least, would feel the necessity of entering upon and pursuing this with resolute purposes of watching over himself, and of keeping up unceasing exercises of self-examination and prayer.

It was not money, it was not the pursuit of money, but it was the love of it, the hankering after it as a great good, the uneasiness at the thought of failing to acquire it, the restless fever of the spirits that too often attend its pursuit, the inordinate selfishness and the spiritual unconcern that are apt to be generated by its passion, — it was these diseased states of the inward man, which Jesus and his Apostles declared to be incompatible with religion and with happiness; — and no wise young man should devote himself to a life of business, who cannot so restrain his excitability in this direction, and at the same time so fix it in a direction to higher things, as to keep off those terrible diseases of the soul, which, without extreme care, are almost as inevitable to that kind of life as rust is to iron, when acted on by dampness.

Generally, we believe, these dangers are but little thought of or understood by the young; and here, as we said in the former case, the source of the evil is in the unchristianized public moral sentiment, in which, as in an atmosphere, young men find themselves enveloped, breathing it in from the conversations they listen to in childhood, and from the examples of men respected and influential in society. The public senti-

ment, in regard to many principles and practices in the transactions of business, is not brought up and made to square with the simple honesty of purpose which the Gospel requires. There are exceptions, we know. There are men, who carry their religion with them into all the conduct of business and of life, who will renounce the most gainful traffic as soon as conscience condemns it, and who would a thousand times rather be poor than be rich by ministering to others' vices, or by taking advantage of their necessities, or their weakness, or their ignorance. But the misfortune is, that such men are exceptions; that the public sentiment does not demand nor expect all business-men to be such men, and does not, as a corrected public sentiment would, frown upon them who do those things which the consistent Christian will not do.

So too in regard to the right estimate and the true uses of money, — the sinfulness of that feverish thirst for it, which is idolatry, or of that reckless pursuit of it, in which all other regards are trodden under foot, or of that selfish enjoyment or waste of it, into which enters no sense of accountability to God, or of duty or benevolence to man; — on all these points, the public opinion, the every-day thoughts and mode of speaking of most people, are not christianized; — they are not in the spirit of Jesus, nor conformed to his teachings.

Now here, in these corrupted currents of popular sentiment, exist the great difficulty to be overcome, and the great danger to be encountered by young men entering upon a life of business, — and, in a measure, by all young men, entering upon active scenes in which they are to take a part; the difficulty, namely, of resisting this influence of public opinion, pressing upon them on every side, like the very air they breathe; and the danger, lest they should not effectually resist it, but should fall in with it and act upon it, and adopting its low, unevangelic moral aims, should give their influence to make what is already sunk, sink still deeper, and what is already mighty to produce evil still more mighty; instead of taking their position firm upon Gospel-principles, and, both by a living exemplification of those principles in their conduct, and by an open advocacy of them in their intercourse with society, doing all in their power to reform and purify, and bring to the Christian standard that public moral sentiment, which always must be an all-powerful agent for good or for evil to the characters of many individuals.

Certainly it would be greatly wise in young men to be so-

berminded in this regard, rightminded, true to the religion of Jesus, both in principle and in practice, true to their own characters, their spiritual wellbeing. Let them not make gain their god, the chief and main object of their pursuit or their desire. Let them look higher, and in the emphatic words of Jesus, "seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness," the purity and honesty of purpose, the integrity of life, the loving heart, the active good-will, the soul made one with God and his Christ, which are to give admission to that kingdom. Let them do this, and they will do well, and all needed good things shall be added unto them.

There is another way in which it has always been, and still is, the habit of large portions of society to work off their excitability; and it cannot be doubted that the soberminded-ness of many young men is perpetually periled, and oftentimes fatally ruined by the prevalence of loose and unchristian principles and practices in this respect,—if not in the whole community, yet in that portion of it by which they are surrounded and acted upon. We refer now to the habits and maxims of pleasure-loving and pleasure-pursuing people;—of people who make pleasure their deliberate business and pursuit, and who, as the chief means of attaining it, give the reins to their excitability, and urge it into unnatural activity by artificial stimulants, many of these moreover being very pernicious, even destructive in their effects at once upon the body, the mind, and the affections.

Pleasure and happiness, in their primitive signification, are nearly the same;—but how wide apart, in the present state of society, have they become! "Happiness, our being's end and aim," the poet sings. We would rather he had said,—doing good, acting out the promptings of a heart of love, our being's end and aim, and happiness, the unsought-for, but ever-attending joy of such a heart acting itself out. But whether the poet's philosophy, or our own, in respect to our being's end and aim, be the most Christian, we feel sure that pleasure, in the common acceptation, is as unlike the joy of such a heart, as selfishness is unlike the loving spirit that dwelt in Jesus. Indeed the life of the devotee of pleasure is selfishness condensed, as in the intervals of exhausted excitability it is very often misery condensed. Yet unquestionably, so easily and naturally do prevailing wrong modes of thinking and acting pervert youthful principles and tastes, that the only idea of happiness,

which many young people have, is this of pleasure, — excitement, — exhilaration; and if it run at times even into intoxication, still, if it be only occasional intoxication, there is nothing in the fashionable code of moral sentiment to awaken them from the fatal delusion!

We are aware that the evil, now under our consideration, exists and operates principally in cities, or places of large and crowded population, and, — not to speak of those born and always living in them, — it is precisely in such places that young men, resorting thither occasionally, or for a permanent residence, encounter some of the most fearful dangers by which it is ever permitted that the soul of man shall be periled. We do not mean to say, that in more retired and less populous places there is none of the same fondness for undue excitement and pleasure-hunting to be rebuked and reformed; or that the public sentiment on this point is there altogether sound and true to the standard of Christian morality. But, whatever there is in such less populous places that is wrong or dangerous to youthful sobermindedness, either in fashionable indulgences or in the loose and unsound modes of thinking, which justify those indulgences, — all this wrong in practice and in principle is, in large and crowded cities, so gathered together and concentrated, so brought to a focus, as, with an intense and consuming power, to scorch and wither the weak and flexible moral principles with which too many young men leave the paternal roof.

It would be a melancholy employment, though it might be a useful one, were the ability for it given us, to observe the downward progress of many a young man, who, withdrawing from the safe seclusion of that domestic circle, amidst which his early days have been spent, with nothing more exciting than the scenes and habits of rural life afford, has plunged into a scene which resembles a whirlpool, in its din and bustle of business, amusement, extravagance, and licentiousness. Could it be permitted to us, it might be very instructive to go into the secret places of his soul, and to witness the change, the lowering down that gradually takes place in his tastes and his principles; — how the delicacy of his feelings, the purity of his imagination, the sense of shame, are by degrees worn away, as he advances in intimacy with companions of pleasing address, but loose if not profligate principles, and as, under their guidance, at first from curiosity and but seldom, afterwards from

love of excitement and still lower motives, he resorts to the theatre, — that fountain of pernicious influences, falsely named a school of morals.

A school of morals indeed! Surely it was not a friend, but a concealed and bitter enemy, who, with grave but cutting irony, called the theatre a school of morals! An institution where the unconscious pupils are but too readily and effectually indoctrinated and disciplined in immorality and licentiousness. If the object were to devise a scheme most efficiently to corrupt and debauch the moral sentiments and habits of young men, we verily believe, no more successful one could be invented than the establishment of the theatre, as it is got up in most large cities, with all its accompanying apparatus to minister to the low tastes and corrupt fancies of the lovers of pleasure; and the more a veil of decency is thrown over it,— though, even in the public representation, on which female purity is expected to gaze, that veil of decency is often of transparent thinness, and sometimes is drawn wholly aside,— but the more effectually its indecencies are veiled and its unseemly things kept from observation, the worse it is, because more deceptive, and less likely to shock those whom it seeks to ensnare; and the more that respectable people, looking only at what they see, and winking at what they see not, though they know it is there, countenance it and visit it, the more effectually does it accomplish the object of luring the young thither, and of drugging them with its intoxication. Alas, what with sweetening the poisonous draught, and garnishing the bowl, and pointing to the respectable people who are not ashamed to sip from it, can it be wondered that the poor, inexperienced youth goes unheedingly to his ruin, as a bird to the snare of the fowler, and knoweth not that it is for his life! It cannot be doubted that the moral ruin of some of the most promising young men in the land began to be developed amidst the fatally exciting and imposing influences, which are almost always generated by a frequent attendance at theatres.

They, who have visited them but a few times in the course of their lives, and then without thinking of the moral tendencies of the scene around them, can with difficulty perhaps estimate rightly their mischievous effects in a community, and especially the hurt they do to the young. In our apprehension, theatrical representations, as they are conducted in large cities, are from beginning to end, schemes of intoxication; as effectu-

ally so as if they were deliberately concerted for that purpose. The plan is, not merely by alcoholic mixtures, — though those are never far off, — but by all artificial means and contrivances, to work upon the excitability of human nature, to stimulate it in the pursuit after pleasure to the pitch of intoxication, to create a habitual feverish thirst for those stimulants, and indeed for more and more potent ones, until at last, nothing but the maddening interest of the gambling table can gratify the diseased craving for excitement.

In too many cases the machinery put in operation produces its appropriate results. Of course, not in all cases; — no general rule of this sort is without exceptions. Favorable circumstances, change of situation, remarkable events in providence, some recollections of touching incidents in the experience of early life, — some thought of the parent, the sister, the bosom-friend, to be struck down by his fall, — some conviction of the folly and madness of the course he is pursuing, may, in individual instances, come in to the rescue of enfeebled and staggering youthful virtue. In some instances, without supposing any religion in the case, the love of pleasure may be balanced and prevented from running to extremity by the intense pursuit of gain, or by the thirst for popular favor, one form of selfishness checking and controlling another; and yet the character be as destitute of Christian principle, as essentially debased and corrupt, as that of any of the miserable victims of a life of dissipation.

We have dwelt at some length upon the seducements to a life of pleasure, with which young men are likely to be assailed on coming into the great world. But in this case, as in the others which have come under our consideration, the root of the evil is in the prevalence, we say not in the whole community, yet certainly in a very large and influential part of it, of loose and unchristian modes of thinking and speaking in regard to it. One of the most common and hurtful of the wrong sentiments on this subject, namely, that the theatre is a school of good morals, we have combated at considerable length. We certainly wish not to withhold from youth any indulgence that is really innocent; but we cannot believe any institution innocent which, taken in all its influences, is rather a school of licentiousness than of virtue, and which is actually to many young men the commencement of degradation and ruin. Whatever relaxation or amusement leaves no sting of self-re-

proach behind, and no stain of impurity upon the heart, we would not condemn. We love to see the light and buoyant spirits of youth pouring themselves out in all innocent ways ;— but in the mirth of fools there is to our feelings something worse than folly. If there is any truth in religion, or any substance in virtue, the whole of what is called a life of pleasure must be considered little short of insanity.

The depraved state of the public sentiment, tolerating and justifying such habits of selfish dissipation, and sanctioning such fountains of licentious influence, calls rousingly upon young men to be soberminded, rightminded on this subject, true to the elevation and spirituality of the habitual thoughts, feelings, and purposes of their hearts. It calls on them to set out in life with a determination to avoid all the forms of artificial stimulation, by which men have insanely endeavored to create an unnatural appetite for self-indulgence. It calls on them to take the ground of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks; to give their name and influence to carry forward the great change which is going on in the public mind in regard to the use of such drinks ;— a change which, it can hardly be doubted, is to be productive of incalculable good to those that shall come after us. It calls on them, in consistency with this principle, to shun all places of resort and amusement, which are designed to allure, to fascinate, to intoxicate, and which, in their general action upon the characters of those who attend upon them, are fatally pernicious. A single visit possibly might not sensibly injure a young man ; — but if he means to be guided by principle, he will not by a single indulgence of curiosity, give his countenance to an institution which on the whole he believes to be bad. In a word, let young men resolve to give the whole weight of their character and example in favor of right and of truth. Let them resolve never to be stumbling-blocks for any weak brother to fall over: — but rather to live so that whoever shall walk in their steps shall never have reason to be sorry for having done it, but shall in future worlds look back with joy unutterable upon the influence received from them.

R. F. W.

ART. V. — *The Miscellaneous Works of* HENRY MACKENZIE, Esq. Complete in one Volume. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1836.

IT has been remarked by Sir James Mackintosh, that "every work of genius in every department of art and polite literature, every poem, every oration, every picture, every statue, is an experiment on *human feeling*, the grand object of investigation by the moralist; and in proportion to the influence which these works have upon mankind are they worthy of examination. They are repositories of ethical facts, furnishing to the moral philosopher the most valuable materials of his science. Polite letters allure into the sciences of mind and morals; they form the channel through which moral science has a constant intercourse with general feeling." Coinciding with these views, we have turned to the examination of a work, formerly much read, and we trust not yet forgotten, Mackenzie's Man of Feeling, — a work purely sentimental, touching the sympathies of human nature, and awakening a tone of moral pathos which appeals strongly and directly to the heart.

Mackenzie has been termed the "Historian of Sentiment." All his works have the same tendency, the same object; they all seek to touch the heart, to excite the deep and kind and holy sensibilities. This is a province in which strong talent, purity of feeling, and delicacy of taste are essential to success. Sentiment in ordinary hands is apt to degenerate, — to lose its spirit and freshness. We see the attempt to play with our feelings, and we resist. But Mackenzie warms his own heart, and ours catches the glow; he details the incidents which excite his own sensibilities, and on reading the simple and faithful record ours also are awakened. So natural are his pictures of life, that we forget the painter in our deep interest in the scene.

"The Man of Feeling" was the first of his works, and we give it much the preference over his later productions. It leaves a more pleasant impression than "The Man of the World," and "Julia de Roubigné" perhaps too painfully affects the feelings. One such work is sufficient for his reputation; this appears to us to be the bold and strong sketching, which afterwards subdued into a more perfect picture has less power over us.

The Man of Feeling is a collection of incidents, not a de-

tailed story. It purports to be the publication of a mutilated manuscript, a large part of which had been used by a country curate, when on shooting excursions, as wadding for his gun. Of course it appears imperfect, is without plot, and has no other aim than to exhibit the power of incident over the heart. To use the author's words, "It is no more a history than a sermon; it is a bundle of little episodes put together without art, and of no importance on the whole, with something of nature and little else in them."

Harley, the hero, is a man of extreme sensibility. His education was such as developed strongly the moral sentiments; he is represented as benevolent even to excess, ardent in his feelings, yet reserved and contemplative. Living almost secluded in the country, he was preserved from a knowledge of the pollutions and the duplicity which darken the mart of busy life. Possessing a moderate income, a few friends, with a heart alive to the beauties of nature, his desire was to shut out the world, and to pass his days in seclusion; his ideas of pomp and grandeur only serving to endear the state which Providence had assigned him. But this tranquillity was not destined to continue.

"There are never wanting to a young man," says our author, "some grave and prudent friends to set him right if he need it, to watch his ideas as they arise, and point them to those objects which a wise man should never forget. Harley did not want for some monitors of this sort. He was frequently told of men, whose fortunes enabled them to command all the luxuries of life, whose fortunes were of their own acquirement."

These prudent friends urged him to apply for the lease of some crown lands which lay contiguous to his little paternal estate, thereby to increase his property. He had not much relish for the attempt, but he could not resist the torrent of motives which assaulted him. He was furnished with a letter of introduction to a certain Baronet, "who had a good deal to say to the first Lord of the treasury," and he commenced his journey to London without any heart in the business, and with very much the feeling of the child who submits to hard necessity and turns to school, leaving the sunny fields and glassy brooks, when he would gladly linger still.

A few incidents of the journey, the effect of London scenes on his simplicity and ignorance of the ways of the world, —

his disappointment and return, with one or two sketches of his after life, compose the work. But these are related so naturally and so artlessly, that we feel a deep interest in Harley, and love him as one of our friends. There is, besides this portraiture of benevolence and purity, a tone of gentleness running through the whole, which awakens a kindly feeling within us. We not only have excited a deeper interest in others, but there comes over us the assurance that the path of virtue is the only safe and pleasant one; and that if ever we find it dark and dreary, it is when we have come suddenly from the glaring sun-shine of the world, and we do not see clearly in its mellowed light. The whole story can be read in a half hour; and it is so simple in its style, so disconnected, so unpretending, that perhaps some may deem us extravagant in our estimate of its merits. If any so regard it, we will not attempt to change their opinions; it is a matter of feeling, not of argument. We claim for our author a deep pathos, and a powerful sway over the moral sentiments; we know that in many hearts he can awaken the strong and kindly emotions that perchance cold Philosophy had lulled to sleep; that he can calm the feverish anxiety of the care-worn, simple, artless, and unpretending as he is.

Our purpose is now to select some passages which exhibit the characteristics of Mackenzie's writings. In our quotations we shall not follow the order in which they occur in the work, but cite those which best serve to exhibit his peculiar traits.

We extract the following passages as illustrative of Harley's character, and as a specimen of the author's talent in describing natural scenery. Harley was on his return from London, and was travelling on foot.

"This was a method of travelling which he was accustomed to take; it saved the trouble of provision for any animal but himself, and left him at liberty to choose his quarters, either at an inn, or at the first cottage in which he saw a face he liked; nay, when he was not peculiarly attracted by the reasonable creation, he would sometimes consort with a species of inferior rank, and lay himself down to sleep by the side of a rock, or on the banks of a rivulet. He did few things without a motive, but his motives were rather eccentric; and the usual and expedient were terms which he held to be rather indefinite, and which therefore he did not always apply in the sense in which they are commonly understood.

"The sun was now in his decline, and the evening remarkably serene, when he entered a hollow part of the road which winded between the surrounding banks, and seamed the sward in different lines, as the choice of travellers had directed them to tread it. It appeared to be little frequented now, for some of these had partly recovered their former verdure. The scene was such as induced Harley to stand and enjoy it; when, turning round, his notice was attracted by an object, which the fixture of his eye on the spot he walked had before prevented him from observing.

"An old man, who from his dress seemed to have been a soldier, lay fast asleep on the ground; a knapsack rested on a stone at his right hand, while his staff, and brass-hilted sword were crossed at his left.

"Harley looked on him with the most earnest attention. He was one of those figures which Salvator would have drawn; nor was the surrounding scenery unlike the wildness of that painter's back-grounds. The banks on each side were covered with fantastic shrub-wood, and, at a little distance, on the top of one of them stood a finger-post, to mark the directions of two roads which diverged from the point where it was placed. A rock, with some dangling wild-flowers jutted out above where the soldier lay, on which grew the stump of a large tree, white with age, and a single twisted branch shaded his face as he slept. His face had the marks of manly comeliness impaired by time; his forehead was not altogether bald, but his hairs might have been numbered; while a few white locks behind crossed the brown of his neck, with a contrast the most venerable to a mind like Harley's." * * * * "The stranger waked. He looked at Harley with an appearance of some confusion; it was a pain the latter knew too well to think of causing in another; he turned and went on." * * * *

"When Harley heard the tread of his feet behind him, he could not help stealing back a glance at his fellow-traveller. He seemed to bend under the weight of his knapsack; he halted in his walk, and one of his arms was supported in a sling, and lay motionless across his breast. He had that steady look of sorrow, which indicates that its owner has gazed upon his griefs till he has forgotten to lament them; yet not without those streaks of complacency which a good mind will sometimes throw into the countenance, through all the incumbent load of its depression."

This old man proves to be one of the friends of Harley's early childhood, on whose knee he had often sat when a boy.

He relates the misfortunes which have reduced him to his present state. The passage, where he recounts the manner in which he was turned out of his farm, is exceedingly touching. His lease had expired, and he was not allowed to renew it, unless he would take an additional quantity of land, and pay a much higher rent.

"But what could I do, Mr. Harley? I feared the undertaking was too great for me; yet to leave at my age the house I had lived in from my cradle! I could not, Mr. Harley, I could not; there was not a tree about it that I did not look on as my father, my brother, or my child; so I even run the risk, and took the squire's offer of the whole. But I had soon reason to repent of my bargain." * * * *

"Had you seen us, Mr. Harley, when we were turned out of South-hill, I am sure you would have wept at the sight. You remember old Trusty, my shag house-dog; I shall never forget it while I live; the poor creature was blind with age, and could scarce crawl after us to the door; he went, however, as far as the gooseberry-bush, which you may remember stood on the left side of the yard; he was wont to bask in the sun there; when he had reached that spot, he stopped, we went on; I called to him; he wagged his tail, but did not stir; I called again; he lay down; I whistled, and cried 'Trusty;' he gave a short howl and died! — I could have lain down and died too, but God gave me strength to live for my children."

We might multiply quotations of this character, but it seems hardly necessary to extract largely from a work which has been so long before the public. Besides, our purpose is not so much to review the work critically, as to examine the effect which it has upon the feelings.

Mackenzie in all his writings has shown great power in the pathetic, — a talent more rare than is usually imagined. Something more is required to move us than a correct delineation of sorrow, or a general account of the afflictive circumstances which have produced it. The heaping together of all the incidents and aspects of grief will not touch the chord of sympathy. We do not feel affliction as an aggregate. It is measured by some slight circumstance, as the bent branch and quivering leaf betoken the strength of the storm. Mackenzie therefore singles out some little circumstance, and places it before us with that distinctness, that before we are aware of it we feel the thrill in our bosoms. This is the key to his power over us.

In order to illustrate still further the effect of incidents trifling in themselves, in giving a vivid impression, we will quote, as best suited to our purpose, Sterne's well known description of the Captive. The first few sentences give the outline in strong language. He is said to be pale, feverish, his body half wasted away in long expectation and confinement. Sorrowful as we feel in reading this, it appears but as one of the thousand calamities which are continually presenting themselves. Our sympathies come not in their strength at this call; such scenes have been described too often. But who can read what follows without strong emotion? "For thirty years the western breeze had not fanned his blood. He had seen no sun nor moon in all that time, nor had the voice of friend or kinsman breathed through the lattice. He was sitting on the ground, upon a bundle of straw in the corner of his dungeon, which was alternately his chair and bed; a little calendar of small sticks was laid at his head, notched all over with the dismal days and nights he had passed there. He had one of these in his hand, and with a rusty nail he was etching another day of misery to add to the heap. As I darkened the little light he had, he lifted up a hopeless eye towards the door, then cast it down, shook his head, and went on with his work of affliction. I heard the chains upon his legs, as he turned his body to lay his little stick upon the bundle."

It is so in Nature. There is no scene which she presents to us which awakens strong feeling as a whole. Our attention must be fixed to its minor points, if we would escape a weak and ill-defined idea of beauty or sublimity. The Ocean stretches itself out before us; it engrosses us at first, yet the wearied eye soon turns from its vastness to watch the sun-beam, as it flashes on the top of the wave. We go out in the spring-time, —the green fields how beautiful they are! the dark forest, and the bright stream that threads its way through the valley, the blossom, and the foliage! yet these strike not the heart with that gush of pleasure, as does the first note of the robin, borne to us upon the early breath of Spring, while yet the earth has not put on her garb of joy. And in the storm, too, when the northern blast sweeps fiercely over the snow-wreath, breaking the stillness of night with its hoarse moan, it is perhaps the light from the distant half-curtained window, bringing the thought of home to the benighted traveller, which makes him shudder at the blast that before he had braved. In a heavy

calamity its whole weight bears upon us with an even pressure, it benumbs us, we scarcely feel; then suddenly a trifle, some little memorial of other days flashes upon us, and we are overcome.

We can learn a lesson from this, if we will. Our happiness depends not so much on general success, as on the minutiæ of every-day life. Things little in themselves touch us all more nearly than we are apt to suppose. Seldom has any man the opportunity to do any great good, but ever can he be "the father and the dealer out of some small blessings." The gem, which we seek with toil in the summit of the mountain, we might often find in our beaten path, would we but stoop for it.

> "'T is a little thing
> To give a cup of water, yet its draught
> Of cool refreshment, drained by fevered lips,
> May send a thrill of pleasure through the frame,
> More exquisite than when nectarian juice
> Renews the life of joy in happiest hours.
> It is a little thing to speak a phrase
> Of common comfort, which by daily use
> Has almost lost its sense; yet on the ear
> Of him who thought to die unmourned, 't will fall
> Like choicest music."

To return. A sentimental man, as the world understands the phrase, is generally an object of ridicule, and perhaps deservedly so. It is equivalent to a kind heart, and a weak head. We connect with such a character the ideas of effeminacy, inability to withstand the common trials of life, a nervous irritability, that unfits one to act his part where energy and firmness are required. It calls up in our mind a man who loves to cry over the sorrows of some love-sick swain, or to drivel over the exquisite mystifications of modern poetry; a man with sunken cheeks, swollen eyes, and a shuffling, undecided gait; one who would faint at the sight of blood, who would only be in the way when trouble actually occurs.

Thus in common hands there is danger in describing a Man of Feeling, — one with acute sensibilities and gentleness of soul, lest there should be presented the mere "Quixote of sentiment," whom few can love, and none respect. Mackenzie has avoided this, and has taught us that true sentiment is an object of reverence.

The manner in which he effects this is easily explained. The man who seeks distress as an excitement, who riots over

his griefs, who is a mere driveller with tears in his eyes, and his arms folded in apathy, always appears contemptible; but that sensibility is never an object of ridicule, which is bent upon relieving the distress which excites it. Mere feeling may be weakness,—join it with active benevolence, and we bow to it, as that which gives true dignity to the character. This is not a theory only; the world practically admits it.

If a man can look back on the road of life which he has travelled over, and see many a spot where he took the weary ones by the hand, or, to speak less figuratively, if he can think over in his mind the warm blankets with which he has covered the palsied limbs of the poor old man, the bright fires that he has lighted up in the hut of poverty, or can call to mind the dimpled cheek and bright eye of the child, laughing in the fulness of infant glee,—and that too, because when it was a poor, forsaken, half-famished thing, he heard its cry,—and if he should wanton over the recollection, or if he should undertake a "sentimental journey," for other trophies of the same kind, who, we ask, would incline to ridicule *his* sentiment?

Harley, when in London, was accosted in the street by an abandoned woman in a state of utter destitution. She was literally starving. He answered her kindly, heard her story, and gave her temporary relief. Perceiving that she was really too feeble to walk, he sent her in a chair to her lodgings, promising to see her again the next morning. On recounting the incidents of this meeting to some friends, they burst into a loud laugh at his credulous simplicity, which could be so deceived by one of her class. Harley retired, doubting the propriety of keeping his engagement, when his motives might be suspected, and his pity was apparently so hopeless. We continue in Mackenzie's words.

"The last night's raillery of his companions was recalled to his remembrance when he awoke, and the colder homilies of prudence began to suggest some things, which were nowise favorable for a performance of his promise to the unfortunate female, he had met with before. He rose uncertain of his purpose; but the torpor of such considerations was seldom prevalent over the warmth of his nature. He walked some turns backwards and forwards in the room; he recalled the languid form of the fainting wretch to his mind; he wept at the recollection of her tears. He recalled her words, 'Though I am the vilest of beings, I have not forgotten every virtue; gratitude

I hope I shall still have left.' He took a larger stride. 'Powers of mercy that surround me,' cried he, 'do ye not smile upon deeds like these? To calculate the chances of deception, is too tedious a business for the life of man.'"

The result of this visit was the restoration of the lost sheep to the fold. He gave her to the arms of a father whose love was strong enough to cover up her guilt-stains. If you would weigh the value of Sentiment, think of Harley's emotions when he accomplished this, and compare them with the feelings of her seducer, when he abandoned his victim to her degradation. We know of no words strong enough to mark the contrast.

Disappointed in obtaining the "crown lands," the object of his visit to London, Harley returned immediately, and it was on this journey homewards that the meeting with old Edwards before described occurred. He also finds Edwards' grandchildren, whom he rescues from the cold charity of the parish; for their parents had long since died of broken hearts, and with this retinue he returned to the home of his fathers, better pleased than if he had been accompanied by the trappings of an augmented fortune. Wealth to him was no object, when he had sufficient to say to old Edwards, —

"I was thinking of you and your children; I learned last night that a small farm of mine in the neighborhood is now vacant; if you will occupy it I shall gain a good neighbor, and be able in some degree to repay the notice you took of me when a boy; and as the furniture in the house is mine, it will be so much trouble saved."

"The house upon this farm was indeed little better than a hut. Its situation, however, was pleasant, and Edwards, assisted by the beneficence of Harley, set about improving its neatness and convenience. He staked out a piece of the green before the door for a garden, and Peter, who acted in Harley's little family as valet, butler, and gardener, had orders to furnish him with parcels of the different seeds he chose to sow in it. I have seen his master at work in this little spot, with his coat off and his dibble in his hand; it was a scene of tranquil virtue to have stopped an angel on his errand of mercy! Harley had contrived to lead a little bubbling brook through a green walk in the middle of the ground, upon which he had erected a mill in miniature, for the diversion of Edwards' infant grandson, and made shifts in its construction to introduce a pliant bit of wood, that answered with its fairy clack to the murmuring of the rill that turned it. I have seen him stand, listening to these mingled sounds, with

his eye fixed upon the boy, and the smile of conscious satisfaction on his cheek; while the old man, with a look half turned to Harley and half to Heaven, breathed an ejaculation of gratitude and piety."

"Father of mercies! I also would thank thee, that not only hast thou assigned eternal rewards to virtue, but that even in this bad world, the lines of our duty and our happiness are so frequently woven together."

We cite these passages to exhibit the energy in benevolence which gives to feeling its dignity and commands our respect; but they also show another striking trait in Mackenzie's writings. We refer to *moral purity*. His delicacy of taste throws a winning charm over his fictions; a tone of gentleness seems to pervade the whole. They leave on the mind the same impressions as the purity of Burns in his Cotter's Saturday Night, or the kind-heartedness of Isaac Walton in his quaint discourses on his "gentle art." Even in Mackenzie's satirical moments, and there is much keen satire scattered through the work, there is nothing to diminish our love where love is due, nothing to detract from our reverence where reverence is due, nothing to offend the most fastidious delicacy. At times his playfulness amuses us, but he never trifles with sentiment, or permits any jesting with feelings which the affections have consecrated.

How different in this respect is he from Sterne! Both rest on sentiment as their strength; both are distinguished for their power to move the heart. We have already quoted from Sterne, and we believe that the description of the prisoner, the stories of Le Fevre and of Maria have never been surpassed in strength of interest or depth of pathos. These sketches have warmed many a heart to kindness. The single expression in the story of Maria, "God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," has become the common property of grief. How often has it reassured the discouraged, how often has it brightened the eye of the sufferer!

But such is not the general character of Sterne's works. These beauties stand out in bold contrast from the accompanying extravagance and wild humor. He has no holy ground, no sacred spot from which he fences out all that would defile its purity. So far from this, he seems to delight in bringing together things the most opposite in their nature,—impurity with the most delicate sentiment,—burlesque and

ludicrous conceptions with the most serious things of life, — indecent raillery with strong pathos. He forgets, we trust the expression is not too strong, that he who has a God to swear by has no God to pray to; and he that uses the pure sympathies of our nature, as objects of wit and ridicule, loses the freshness and delicacy of the gentle affections. The sacred, the beautiful perish in the atmosphere of impurity.

But the last sentence which Sterne wrote for the public, shows that he himself doubted and feared the effect of his writings. His soul is addressing his body as in a dream. "By thy present tears I will endeavor to purge away the foul stains of thy past actions. Thy present humility may obliterate the remembrance of thy former vanity. Have not thy works tended to the corruption of the age, to the depravity of the morals of the rising generation? What recompense canst thou offer? Not thy religious discourses, — they are but a small counterpoise, and read but by a few."

But there was a kind-heartedness about him, which extenuates his faults. Alas, poor Yorick!

We can hardly appreciate the effect of what is termed light-reading, or popular literature, on the character of a people. It is continually and extensively in action. If a public library be examined, the vast amount of this reading will be perceived. The dust rests on the Arts, the Sciences, on Theology and Metaphysics, while the wear of Poetry and Novels shows their frequent use. The solid are occasionally referred to; the books which exhibit life are always in requisition. The thumb marks refer you to the pages, and the pencil marks usually point to the passages which touch the heart. We all read more for warmth than light; more for excitement than for the love of truth. Many seem ashamed to acknowledge it, but we demonstrate by the choice that we prefer sentiment to thought.

Perhaps in saying that sentiment is preferred to thought, we use the word sentiment in a more general sense than is usually given to it. We consider it as expressive of that large class of emotions which we cannot trace either to the intellect or to the passions; something midway from both; more ethereal than the one, more palpable than the other; something which impresses us the most strongly when bodily appetites sleep, and which sways the untutored, perhaps even more than the refined and cultivated. We feel it in the love we have for home,

and in the tie which binds us to our country; it smiles upon us as we gather in domestic scenes, it consecrates the graves of our fathers; it is friendship's light, and the sun of virtuous love; it forms the deep and sweet interest of the most hallowed connexion of life; we hear it in the cry which rends the air when the people rejoice together, and in the soft step of the friend who watches around the sick bed. It binds mind to mind, imparting a lively sympathy in all which has life, and even endears to us the aspect of Nature; it opens the hand of charity, and starts the willing tear. It is reverence to Him who is over all, and to the great and pure everywhere.

An eminent writer has justly observed, that "to seek a foundation for universal, ardent, early, and immediate feeling in processes of an intellectual nature, has been the grand source of the errors of ethical inquiries into human nature." By many the very existence of sentiment, of the moral sense, has been doubted. This very important part of our nature for ages was without a name. It has now no technical term in systems of moral philosophy. The errors resulting from this indefiniteness, this confounding of thought with feeling, has tended to keep the science of morals as it were upon a dead level; to draw its votaries through a dark and dreary road; and it was not until the doctrine of Christianity — *love* its corner-stone — penetrated the labyrinth of human reason, and became its very light and life, that man would submit to the truth, and incorporate the moral sense into his systems of philosophy. It is therefore Religion, and not the human intellect, that has brought down the most beautiful forms of moral truth to the humblest stations of society.

It begins now to be admitted that reason as reason is never a motive to action. Principles and truths are nothing in themselves; they touch not the spring of action; they mould not the character. Principles must be embodied in action to test their value, and truth itself must be a personification ere it affect us. Our business is with life, not with abstractions. Here, in the outpourings of the heart, lies the only deep interest of human nature.

If the movements and feelings of life in its joys and sorrows be thus interesting, if principles embodied in action in the popular literature thus affect the tone of moral sentiment, it becomes a matter of importance what is the character of this reading.

In works of learning the errors may be detected by the read-

er's own judgment. Wrong dates, mistaken facts, imperfect description, false reasoning, can all be rectified by subsequent reading. The reason is cool, and rarely suffers itself to be imposed upon in its search after truth. Creative genius, on the other hand, by its warmth and eloquence, carries us away captive. We do not judge, or analyze — we feel. There is a sympathy among men, which causes others to catch the glow, be it fever, or be it health. A moral disease may be thus thrown through society. There is a delicacy in Sentiment, a quick sensitiveness, which exposes it to almost irreparable injury; and so far as happiness is concerned, it matters little whether a morbid sensibility, or a chill to the affections is the consequence, for a nervous irritability, and a loss of the gentle affections are equally to be dreaded.

There is a class of works now much in vogue, which has the most pernicious influence on moral sentiment. It is the "Satanic school," — the pouring out of gall and wormwood upon the social affections, — the seeking for effect from the exposure of human nature in her weakness and infirmities. A heartless infidelity, a cold misanthropy conjures up all that is degrading and disgusting for the sake of excitement; and when this palls, the profane jesting seeks a higher object. Love, the wood-nymph, is changed into the goddess with the zoneless waist; friendship is interest; patriotism a cheat; and right and wrong of the same nature. The poets of this school have changed the emblems of their craft, — the swine and the goat have expelled the dove and the lamb.

This "Satanic" character belongs not only to much of the poetry of the day, but a large part of the popular novels must also be ranked in this school. We take "Eugene Aram" as the type of this class. Their fictions are but the detail of crime in its various hues and aspects. Over indelicacy they hang only a transparent veil, and that more for ornament than concealment. Yet the injury they inflict upon virtuous feelings is not so much by open attack, as by a cold sneering at the sacred things of life, a bold and dexterous use of misanthropic satire. They throw the charm of deep excitement over their scenes, and chain their readers to this dissecting-room of poor human nature by an awful and shuddering interest. We will quote from "Eugene Aram" one or two passages, both to exhibit the character of novels of this class, and to show how strong is the contrast between Bulwer and Mackenzie.

"'And what,' exclaimed Aram, breaking in upon her, 'what is this world which we ransack, but a stupendous charnel house. Everything which we deem most lovely — ask its origin — decay! when we rifle nature and collect wisdom, are we not like the hags of old, culling simples from the rank grave, and extracting sorceries from the rotting bones of the dead? Everything around us is fathered by corruption, battened by corruption, and into corruption it returns at last.'"

Again.

"The colors of our existence were doomed before our birth; — our sorrows, — our crimes. — Millions of ages back, when this hoary earth was peopled with other kinds, yea ere its atoms had formed one layer of its present soil, — the eternal and all-seeing Ruler of the universe — Destiny or God — had here fixed the moment of our birth and the limits of our career; — what then is crime? Fate! What is life? Submission."

These are words spoken by the hero of the work, with whom the reader is supposed to sympathize, in whom he is to feel a strong interest.

As an instance of profane jesting, we quote the following.

"The notion of the corporal's by which he would have likened the kingdom of Heaven to the King of Prussia's body-guard, and only admitted the elect on account of their *inches*, so tickled mine host, that he leaned back in the chair and indulged in a long, dry laugh."

Thus Bulwer makes an "old, poor woman" speak of the Bible.

"'Och yes! the bible's a mighty comfort, for it says as much that the rich man shall not enter into the kingdom of Heaven. There's a truth for you that makes the poor folks' heart as merry as a cricket; ho! ho! I sits by the imbers of a night, and thinks, and thinks, as how I shall see you all a burning; and ye'll ask *me* for a drop of water, and I shall laugh thin from my pleasant seat among the angels.'"

But we forbear; the remainder of the passage is altogether unfit for transcription.

Such reading, when continued, produces a morbid sensibility, a constant thirst for strong stimulants; and this intoxication of the mind creates a mist over the boundaries between right and wrong. An incalculable injury is done. The moral sense becomes deadened. The chord of sympathy must be struck

harshly ere it will vibrate; the delicate touches of gentleness and kindness can awaken no sound. Nature, in her tranquillity, has lost all power; friend and associate in domestic life no longer interest. Common pursuits, the thousand little joys of home are insipid; the monotony of every-day life becomes weariness. Yet in this monotony are we destined to live; and if we would be happy, our Sentiment must be educated to act in those scenes which usually present themselves. We all, for the most part, must travel on the beaten road. With our fellow travellers, with our mutual pursuits, our common duties, our sympathies must flow freely, or this beaten track will lose all interest, and we travel on weary and heart-sick. The palace must not be continually in the mind's eye, when the cottage is to be our home.

For these reasons the novels of Fielding and Smollet, bad as they are, are to be preferred to many of the modern extravagances. They "hold the mirror up to Nature," though it must be confessed they so adjust the glass as to exhibit an undue proportion of the viler scenes of Nature. The common vices, however, if we must choose, are less pernicious than the abuse of the soul. Open indelicacy is too revolting to injure minds, which may be carried away willing captives by the sorcery which changes all that is good and pure into poison. The ebullitions of passion may be checked, but the confounding of virtue and vice, the up-breaking of the moral sentiments produces an incurable disease. To use the language of Mackenzie, "this contempt of things sacred undermines the very foundations on which the fabric of religion is reared — beats down the columns which support the weakness of humanity."

The "Man of Feeling" is a faithful portraiture of life as it actually is. Mackenzie has not drawn uncommon incident, he has not left the healthy portion to depict the excrescences of human nature. There is no scene which does not possess features in common with such as often occur to every one. Virtue and vice are thrown wide asunder, and appear in deep and full contrast. He has preserved the feelings of the heart from coarse mixtures. He has watchfully guarded the reverence for holy things, and we rise from the work refreshed, more fitted for the duties of life, with the sympathies warmed to all that is good in our natures.

As we have before observed, we decide upon the value of a work of science by the new ideas, the additional truths it gives

us; we can measure our gains as something apart from ourselves, which, though not visible and tangible, yet are certain and definite. But when we close the novel, it leaves upon the mind, though often unperceived by it, some peculiar bias, some certain tendency. From works of learning we collect the fruit; from fiction we inhale the aroma of the blossom; — we can throw away the fruit which displeases us, but the perfume has been breathed, whether it be healthy or poisonous.

The tone which novel reading gives to the mind is not the most pure or the most elevated. There are many exceptions to this general remark, yet it is nevertheless true on the whole, that Fiction draws her power almost altogether from crime. The world she describes has but few scenes of purity, few exhibitions of kindly feeling, little of the praiseworthy discharge of duty. In depicting low life, she exhibits nothing of it but its vulgarity. Passing by the thousand interesting scenes, which contented, honest poverty might present, — the cheerful labor, the Sunday rest, the ready unbought service, the devoted though homely affection, the fervid if unenlightened faith, — she introduces us for our amusement only to the tavern, the gun-room, or the gipsey camp. In fashionable life she bids us listen to the insipid prattle of the drawing-room, and when weary of that, enlivens us by the unfaithfulness of a wife, the sordidness of a father, or the total disregard of filial obligation in the children. Or she pictures luxurious wantonness, or intense selfishness, seeking its own gratification with a perfect recklessness of consequences. Again she deals in the supernatural, and only makes us acquainted with a whole convent of fiends. Historical novels, though in many respects superior, yet almost invariably relate to times of war and civil commotion; the prison, the field of blood, the traitor's fate, the pistol, and the dirk compose their interest. All seek to describe the worst part of man, that which connects him with the brute, — that which allies him to Heaven seems buried and forgotten. The lower passions only are brought out. Vice is the groundwork of the whole. So true is this that it has been said, that "the mind, brooding over the intention to commit a crime, appears to be employed in collecting and arranging the incidents for a tale."

We can all recollect the time when we changed our reading from children's books — Mrs. Barbauld's exquisite touches per-

haps, or Berquin's "Children's Friend" — to the common fictions of the day. How great was our surprise. We knew nothing of the world then, but had colored it from the simple purity of our own hearts. When we sketched man, a father sat for the picture, — woman was the image of our mother or sister; and the world's atmosphere seemed pure as that of our own household. How the affections trembled as they looked out from the spot of peace upon the moral waste spread out by the Novelist.

Now is it not the fact that our first impressions are nearer the truth? There are thousands and thousands of cottage homes studding the land, as pure and peaceful as the miniature world of our childhood, filled with the innocent, the intelligent, the chaste, and the beautiful; where Sentiment smiles upon the cradle of infancy, and places upon the hoary head the crown of reverence; where love is not only the purple tint of the morning, but is the noon-day light, and the evening's softened ray; where a countless number of little charities, each a drop in itself, united form the deep and broad stream of human happiness. Bad as is this world of ours, vice dares not show herself in the open day. She draws the veil of darkness over her deeds. An outraged community would frown upon such displays of the violation of the moral law, as are looked upon by novel readers with the most perfect composure. We do not do justice to the moral sentiment of the community.

Sentiment is the very life of the heart. It is the only resting point for happiness. Without it man is governed only by animal instincts, and the grosser passions; for however learned, however strong may be the intellect, he can neither love his brother man, nor his Creator, God!

The power of Fiction over Sentiment is generally underrated; but we are sure that the fictions of vulgar life, the portraiture of the criminal, and the sketching of all that is polluting in its nature, must deprive the mind of its purity. We cannot become thus familiarized with vice without danger. It makes but little difference whether it be the evil thoughts of others, or our own, that find a resting place within us. To be useful to us, Fiction, if she do not rise higher than human nature commonly is, should at least soar above its abuses. The philanthropist should look to this. He must enlist creative genius in his service, and thus provide more healthy food for the insatiable appetite. He mistakes when he supposes that reason, proud

reason, is the instrument by which the world is to be moved onward. He mistakes when he would give more light, but forgets to purify the atmosphere; for man can close his eyes to the sun's brightest beams, but the air he breathes continually.

S. E. C.

ART. VI. — *Cinq Mois aux États-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord, depuis le 29 Avril jusqu'au 23 Septembre* 1835; *Journal de Voyage de* M. RAMON DE LA SAGRA, Directeur de Jardin des Plantes de la Havane, &c. Traduit de l'Espagnol, par M. RENÈ BAÏSSAS. Paris, chez F. G. Levrault. 1837. 8vo. pp. 458.

THE writer of this journal of a five months' tour in our country had made himself favorably known, during his residence in Havana, by the publication of his Statistical History of Cuba, which was noticed in one of the late numbers of our work.* We understand that he is now in Spain, where he is engaged in the mazes of Spanish politics; and that he has also undertaken the preparation of a Physical, Political, and Natural History of Cuba, which is to be illustrated with magnificent plates in folio, and to be published in *livraisons*, or parts. From the politics we cannot help wishing him a safe delivery; and to the appearance of his History of Cuba we look forward with great interest.

When M. de la Sagra left Cuba, he did not intend to pass even five months in the United States; but on his arrival at New York he soon became so deeply interested in the observation of our various institutions, that he found himself compelled to prolong his stay, and he certainly made good use of the time which he spent among us. He is a warm and honest admirer of our usual modes of thinking and acting, of our national manners, of our economical improvements and inventions, of our prison discipline, public charities, and public means of instruction. But in the mean time his admiration does not blind his judgment, or deceive him into the belief that what is good for us, must necessarily be good for his countrymen, and be forth-

* For September, 1837.

with adopted by them. On this point he expresses his mind, in his Introduction, very sensibly, as follows.

"Some persons will take notice of the enthusiasm with which I speak of the institutions of the United States, and will think that I mean to propose them as models to our unhappy Spain; but I here protest against such an intention. Far be it from me to present the savory fruits of the robust tree, which flourishes in the privileged soil of the Union, to the Spanish people, who are so little able to digest them. On the contrary, I conjure those, who sincerely love the country, to concentrate their efforts in diffusing literary, moral, and religious instruction among the masses, instead of exciting them by the image of benefits which they cannot comprehend. In this way only they may advance the establishment of those principles, on which social happiness and the development of the productive energies depend. Thus only can be promoted the growth of the tender plant of liberty. Let it be left to time and nature to accomplish their course toward maturity, the period of blossoms and of fruit."

The view which our author takes of the causes of the degeneracy of Spain, and other portions of continental Europe, evince still further the sound and prudent character of his patriotism; and what he says concerning the passionate devotion to amusement and an out-door life, which is there indulged in, deserves the consideration of those of our countrymen, who, innoculated with the same passion, by a few months of foreign gayety and sight-seeing, would wish to introduce it —God forbid that they should—upon our own shores. He is speaking of some contrasts which are offered by their institutions.

"On the one hand, there is an alarming disproportion between the ordinary means of existence, the price of labor, the recompense of industry, and the amount of those social pleasures which excite the desires of the active and laborious classes. On the other, there is a parasitical population of foundlings and mendicants, idly consuming the resources of public and private benevolence. And then, at the termination of these two highways of ambition and misery, the whole company of victims come together, to be swept into the prisons and galleys, horrible sinks of corruption and depravity, hells, as it were, of demoralization, whence they are vomited back on society, to corrupt innocence anew. In reflecting on the erroneous principles which ferment and keep alive the vices, it seems that, notwithstanding

the remarkable degree of civilization to which Europe has attained, she is found to be under the influence of the genius of evil, who kindles the fires of disorder, breathes his destructive spirit over the most numerous classes, and employs as combustibles those refinements and allurements of luxury which draw people with a kind of madness towards pleasures, where the sacrifice of virtue is almost always demanded. In vain do philanthropists and governments address themselves to extinguish a conflagration, which threatens universal ruin; for the utmost they can do is to hide the wounds, and stifle the cries of the victims."

His allusion to religion, in the succeeding paragraph, is evidence of his just sentiments on that head.

"In the midst of this astounding confusion, which impartial and foresighted men cannot deny, are to be recognised the principal causes of the evil, and of that sore of demoralization which is festering in the bosom of a most civilized and enlightened people. We discern the beacon-light which shines through the darkness of the tempest, but we fear to announce the port of safety, because its holy shelter has been profaned. The fury of reform is not content with pulling down all that has been founded by man, but attacks also the sanctuary of God; and the name, which ought to serve as an asylum and bulwark for the regeneration of a demoralized community, bears far different significations to the ears of the multitude."

From premises of this nature, he arrives at precisely such wise and moderate conclusions as we should beforehand have expected.

"What then is necessary for a community constituted like that of Spain? *Education* and *Reforms.* I will not speak of political and administrative reform, an object of actual revolution, and regarded in divers manners by the parties who are tearing the country asunder. The object which I propose to myself in this book is the recommendation of primary education and moral reform to the Spanish people; a reform, the importance of which is perceived by all minds; for, struggling incessantly as we advance in the work of melioration, we must begin with the beginning, if we would build with solidity."

He says that he expects to be condemned by the violent on both sides in his own country, for doctrines and facts distasteful to them both. The liberals, for instance, will be alarmed at the severity of the moral and religious duties which are upheld

in the United States; and the absolutists will be scandalized at hearing him praise the virtue and piety of a nation of republicans. He nevertheless will declare to the former that they may try in vain to find any other foundation than strict morals for the happiness of the Spanish people; and he will advise the latter to imitate the conduct of the children of liberty, if they wish to make religion lovely and respectable.

Having given an idea of our author's purpose, and of the general views advanced in his Introduction, let us turn to the body of his work. It may be worth while to remark, that he arrived in New York when the fever for land speculation was burning, not only in that city but throughout the whole country. "Speculators," he observes, "are wholly absorbed in the purchase of lands on Long Island. One of my friends has just told me, that three individuals who had purchased, three months ago, to the extent of six thousand dollars, having sold their lots yesterday, had divided from the proceeds eighty-five thousand dollars apiece. At the same time, some cooler persons abstain from these operations, and think that the end of it all will be the ruin of numbers." This was in April, 1835. The prediction of these cooler persons has been sadly verified. Many have been ruined, and many more have been greatly injured; and so it will always be, when the desire of wealth gets the better of discretion, and calculations of the increase of property outrun time and probability. With all our advantages as a nation, we have sore temptations, temptations which are all the more powerful and to be feared, as they arise mainly from those very advantages. Our circumstances urge us to hastiness in all things. We are all the time on the race. We race after riches, and multitudes are thrown out and crippled. We race after distinction and station in life, and many are prematurely broken down. We race in travelling from one part of our country to another, and explosions on the river and wrecks on the sea proclaim the dismal consequences. We race after changes and reforms, after new philosophies and new religions, before we have appropriated half the benefits, or learned half the wisdom of the established and old; and confusion and irritation attend the course. Some among us are seriously sick of all this racing, and would fain give up something of our presumed progress, and a great deal of our talk about progress, for a little more safety, and a little more quietness. We are not losing our hope in the permanent interests of our country, nor our honest pride

in our free and religious institutions, nor our faith in the general good sense and final success of our countrymen; but we are occasionally losing our patience at the recklessness which assumes the name of advancement, at the crudities which are flourished before our eyes as wisdom, and at the many abuses which are committed of fair opportunity and ample freedom. We are all the while convinced, that we possess many good things and ways in this vigorous young country of ours, which are not to be found in time-worn Europe. We heartily sympathize with the enthusiastic and open mind of our author, which has perceived them, and which would induce their adoption, in due season, among his countrymen; and we hope that while other nations are enabled to appropriate whatever is to be approved in our manners and institutions, we may avoid the sin of national vainglory, and labor to render ourselves more worthy of imitation than we are.

In pursuing his plan of investigating our economical and charitable institutions, and of making those practical researches for which, he says, "the United States may be called the classical country," Don Ramon pays an early visit to the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, in New York; in the account of which he takes an opportunity of stating, that it was in his own country that the idea of instructing this class of our fellow beings originated.

"I had a lively desire of visiting the institutions for the Deaf and Dumb, from the moment I learned that there were such in the Union. For it was in Spain that this generous idea had birth, as well as a thousand other useful inventions which have risen up in the present age, hiding under a foreign varnish a Spanish origin, which is lost in those distant times when Europe followed in the wake of our civilization. Documents of undoubted authenticity declare, that the Benedictine Pedro Ponce instructed deaf and dumb pupils as early as the year 1570, two brothers and a sister of the constable of Castile. Not only did he teach them reading, writing, arithmetic, astronomy, the living languages, and many other things, but also to pronounce certain words. Ponce left behind him no writings concerning his method; an omission which has been common among the men of genius of the Peninsula; but which, whether owing to idleness or modesty, deserves the severest reproaches. Nevertheless, the two first works, which were published on this wonderful art, proceeded from the pens of two Spaniards, Juan Bonnet and Ramirez de Carrion, about the year 1620. Dr. Wallis, in 1659,

made the first attempt in England to instruct the deaf and dumb, and teach them to speak; since which the practice has always been kept up. In 1748 the Spaniard Pereyra went to Paris, presented his pupils to the Royal Academy of Sciences, and received the most flattering testimonials from the schelars of that day. After this it was that the celebrated Abbé de l'Épée, who had studied the Spanish authors, began to establish institutions of the kind in France."

Our author defends himself in a note, though unnecessarily, against the supposed imputation of national vanity, in making these statements. He is not only to be excused, but praised, for vindicating to his native Spain all her claims to honorable remembrance. He is not quite correct, however, in asserting that Ponce was the individual with whom the idea originated of instructing deaf-mutes, though to him belongs the higher praise of putting the idea into practice. We learn from other sources, that the idea was clearly proposed in the writings of Rodolphus Agricola, a full century before the time of Ponce, and that the principles of the art were set forth by the learned Jerome Cardan, of Pavia, who was born in 1501, and died in 1576. In England, also, John Bulwer must be placed before Dr. Wallis, as the former published his "Philocophus, or the Deafe and Dumbe Man's Friend," before anything on the subject had been given to the world by the latter.

M. de la Sagra afterwards visits the Institutions for the Deaf and Dumb in Philadelphia and in Hartford, and gives us brief though interesting accounts of both. In speaking of the subject generally, he expresses his opinion, that the ideas of rhythm and the measure of time are independent of sound; and in confirmation of this he mentions the fact of there being in the United States three poets, deprived of hearing and of speech, whose compositions are distinguished by the perfection of the rhymes and faultless cadence of the verses, and tells us of a domestic of his at Havana, who, similarly destitute, danced in better time than any of his comrades.

The following is a pleasant notice of our traveller's first introduction to Sunday Schools, which was also in New York.

"Little children are always highly interesting subjects for my pencil, for I dearly love them. On a Sunday they are to be seen here in long files, proceeding two by two toward the churches. Having observed processions of this sort, just at the hours when there was no religious service, I determined to fol-

low them, and was conducted, without expecting it, to the Sunday schools, concerning which I had many notes, but I know not why, had not thought of them since my arrival.

"It was a discovery. I shall not attempt to describe the impression which was produced on me by this multitude of children, gathered in the churches to receive moral and religious instruction, and acquire the elements of learning, under the direction of young preceptors, belonging to the first families of the city. Two hours in the morning and one hour in the evening are consecrated to this exercise, and the great object is to instil into the minds of the little pupils the mild maxims of Christianity, and the principles of primary instruction. The majority of the teachers were young ladies, who taught children of both sexes with a love truly sister-like. What most astonished me was, that these children, the greater part of whom were under six years of age, went to school alone, and unconstrained, and seemed to think themselves happy in being placed under the care of their fair instructresses."

Such are the first thoughts of a truly respectable foreigner, with regard to this simple yet important institution. Sunday schools are certainly not an invention of our own, though they are perhaps more extensively adopted with us than in the mother country; but they were new to him, and the utterance of his feelings in respect to them speaks better things for his heart and character, than could have been uttered by pages of egotism and fine-spun sentiment.

From New York he goes to Philadelphia, where he is much struck by the clean and quiet magnificence of the city, incessantly washed and polished as it is by thousands of mops and brushes, and tens of thousands of pailfuls of water, and where he visits the institutions and various objects of interest, under the guidance of our venerable friend Mr. Vaughan, and other distinguished inhabitants of the place. And here it may be well to remark, that whatever may be the correctness of the Spanish original of this tour, the French translation before us makes the usual sad work with our proper names. Instead of Vaughan, for instance, we have Waugham; instead of Perkins, Parkins; instead of Hitchcock, Hitchock; instead of Hyde, Hayde; instead of Commodore Hull, Comodore Hall. We have nevertheless good reason to be content, for more than half the names seem to be spelt right.

From Philadelphia he passes on to Baltimore, which, he says, appears to be a very pleasant abode, (*un séjour très riant*)

on account of the width of the streets, the country which you behold at their extremities, and a certain vivacity which characterizes the inhabitants. Here, as usual, he makes the best use of his moments, by inspecting whatever was most worthy of his attention, and collecting statistical facts. He then continues his journey to Washington, which seems to him, as indeed it is, a most singular seat of government. It is rather, he remarks, "a city in project than an actual capital." And yet he thinks it is well that an original people should be fitted with a capital unique in its kind, and that while the other nations of the world unite in their courts everything that is most agreeable, most splendid, most active, Washington should be the gravest, the most solitary, and most silent place in the United States. All this sounds well, and is very comforting; but the truth is, that Washington is not what it was intended to be. It was intended to be a great city; but as other localities proved to be better adapted for business and commerce, it remains, a sufficiently original place, doubtless, and yet a most unfinished, uncomfortable, and dismal one.

In Washington M. de la Sagra met with M. Michel Chevalier, and aftewards travelled in his company towards Niagara Falls. The two gentlemen were also constantly together in the capital. On one occasion they took an excursion to the Potomac Falls on horseback, in relating which, the former gives amusing proof that he has just come from riding the easy pacing animals of Cuba. "The horse which I bestrode was a splendid creature, and brought me a thousand compliments from my companions; but his trot was so hard that my limbs were dislocated. It seems that no attention is paid here to this discomfort; for I have seen Americans, both men and women, ride all kinds of horses, and not complain in the least of being half the time in the air."

Our traveller proceeds no further toward the south. He gives as one reason for this, his want of time, and as another, his repugnance to slavery, the renewed aspect of which would excite in him the most painful thoughts. Strongly as he thus expresses himself, however, he is no abolitionist. The following remarks are appended to an account of his visit to the penitentiary of the District of Columbia.

"The number of people of color, who are to be found in penitentiaries, turns my attention to the miseries of this race, plunged in vice and crime from the want of education. I have read

heaps of tracts in which we are told that liberty is the greatest boon to the slave. For my own part I think that liberty is the most fatal gift which could be bestowed on the poor African who is yet unprepared for it. I am persuaded that it would be a thousand times worse for him, than a large fortune to the foolish youth who lives in the midst of the dissipation of large cities. The slave is a machine, a being brutalized by his position, deprived of moral enjoyments, and restricted in those which are physical. All this is no doubt to be deplored, and the melioration of the negro's lot demands the attention of our philanthropists; but what benefit is to be obtained by launching the slave, child of misfortune and wretchedness, upon the face of a society which is unknown to him, and placing him in contact with all the snares which are spread for his inevitable ruin? So long as the liberty of the blacks is not made to rest on a moral and religious education, it is better not to think of it at all. But certain philanthropists will say to me, Is it just to leave them in their present abject state? But is it merciful, I shall answer, to make criminals of them? In the island of Cuba, where I have lived twelve years, in the United States, of which I have had a passing and admiring glance, I have often observed that the most demoralized and most perverse of all classes was the class of free people of color; whose vices, in fact, can only be compared with their irreligion and their stupidity. Why is not one of these the consequence of the other? Why cannot their corruption be cured by diminishing their ignorance?

"In the midst of these considerations, I perceive that a critical period is advancing for the country I have just left, which till now has been so happy. The doctrines which insist on emancipation for the blacks, resound through all Europe, and will have their echo in the national congress of Spain. Some passionate men will recognise the means of obtaining an easy popularity, in repeating what has been said by so many writers before them. Others, excited by a disinterested love of humanity, and a sincere regard for this unfortunate class, will perhaps unite their eloquent voices to the inconsiderate clamors of the former. The triumph will be certain, since it will be the triumph of the ideas of the day; but let them beware of the consequences which will result from it. A decree of emancipation, promulgated without the indispensable preliminaries of religious and intellectual education, will be but an edict of calamity, which will open under the feet of the wretched ones, whose lot it would fain mitigate, a deep abyss of crimes and miseries."

We give the above remarks, not because they altogether coincide with our own sentiments, but because they proceed

from one who is entitled to speak and be listened to, on account of his personal experience, and his known disinterestedness in relation to this subject. For our own part, we are not entirely convinced that emancipation without education would produce such terrible evils as M. de la Sagra apprehends. In Cuba especially, the whites are so numerous and so powerful, that they would be able to keep the blacks in a state of general order and subjection, even though the latter should be unduly excited by the sudden gift of liberty. Neither could the excitement last very long; the name of freedom would lose its novelty, and the poor, or in other words the people of color, would settle down naturally into the class of the hired laborers of the land. With regard to the matter of education, too, it is a question in our mind, whether it would not be quite as difficult to educate the negroes while they remained slaves, as after they had received their freedom. One thing appears in a light of much greater certainty, which is, that whatever is to be done in the way of emancipation, should be done by the well considered and deliberate act of the government, or state, whose unquestionable place and authority it is to do it; and not attempted to be done by the unwelcome interference of State with independent and jealous State, as is urged in our own country. Englishmen especially do not understand this. They seem to know nothing of the paramount and peculiar difficulty of the question of slavery in the United States. They declaim and rail away, as if it were as easy to decide upon southern emancipation in our Congress, as it was to decide on West Indian emancipation in their Parliament; — though they might remember that it was not so very easy even there. They have themselves hardly god rid of slavery in a few islands, entirely dependent on the mother country, and yet they deem themselves authorized to cry shame on us, because one part of our country does not, in some inexplicable manner, force abolition on another part, which, on this point, as on many others, is wholly independent. It is indeed somewhat strange and somewhat mournful, that in our Declaration of Independence we should declare that all men are born free and equal, and that in our national Congress we should talk vehemently about liberty and the rights of man, with swarms of slaves in our bosom. But so we began, in a full understanding of the case, and so we must go on — till either the Union is broken up, or till the slave-holding States themselves, and of their own proper motion, abolish slavery. This

is the plain matter of fact; and no sophistry or declamation, from English or American abolitionists, can alter it in the least. Nor is it true to say that all which is wanted is to find out the means of abolishing slavery without hazard, or with the least possible hazard. If means were as clear as sunbeams, and the southern states chose not to adopt them, there is no authority in the country which could interfere with their free choice. Moral compulsion, as it is called, may be threatened; but in our opinion it would be better not to threaten at all, and to drop the word compulsion out of the argument.

Having delivered ourselves of one or two of the many thoughts which we have on this subject, we will now return to our traveller, who pursues his pleased and pleasant way back through Philadelphia and New York, and then onward and upward, as orators say, to Niagara. He makes many instructive observations on his road, which we regret that we cannot stop to translate. He describes the Falls as one who feels their power; and a portion of his reflections appeared to us so striking, that we cannot help inserting it here.

"I have arranged my desk in the gallery of the hotel which looks upon tbe cataract, so that I write under its inspiration, and almost enveloped by its morning mists. This grand picture absorbs my whole existence. Society, mankind, their machinations, their intrigues, their plans, their hopes, all appear to me small and contemptible. One should here, I think, even forget unhappiness. A vague sensation recalls to my soul a confused remembrance of my past life, of my troubles, of my aversions, of the thousand contradictions which I have suffered. On other occasions, when my memory brings back such things, my heart lifts itself up against the injustice of men, their ingratitude and their perfidy; now, it is as a dream, and I can hardly convince myself of the reality. My spirit is calm, and the cruel recollections which before had roused me, disappear like the vapors which rise from that abyss; my life shall flow on hereafter with the same tranquillity, I trust, as the waves of Niagara, so agitated and crushed in their fall, and, after the day of storm and turmoil, shall follow its course in peace. Wonderful cataract, I bless thee! I owe it to thine influence that I have known the littleness of the cares which afflict us, and my enemies shall owe to thee the pardon and forgetfulness of their offences against me."

In the spirit of this beautiful extract he seems to have continued and completed his journey. We have an intimation of

this, in what he says of the impression produced on his mind by a Sunday spent in Hartford, Connecticut; and we heartily wish that this passage might meet the eyes of some among ourselves, who are apt to speak slightingly of the repose of our Sabbaths, that they may see how that repose can be estimated by a foreigner of intelligence and feeling.

"Sunday — day of diversions, of excess, of disorders in the cities of Europe — is consecrated here, as in all the United States, to meditation and prayer; but with so much simplicity, that I could not decide whether it is an effect of the distinctive character of the population of New England, or of the temper of my heart since my return from Niagara. Certain it is, that the remembrance of my Sunday at Hartford will be engraved on my mind with all the attendant circumstances of originality."

M. de la Sagra passed from Niagara through Albany and Northampton to Boston, stopping at several places on his route, which are commemorated by his interesting notices. He arrived in Boston on the 19th of August, and remained there through the month. He visited the Athenæum, the House of Industry, House of Correction, McLean Asylum for the Insane, Institution for the Blind, and other institutions, literary, charitable, and corrective, and collected facts and figures respecting them with his usual assiduity and success. He remarks of Boston, that its aspect is very different from that of the other cities of the Union, on account of the irregularity of the streets, and the inequality of the ground on which it is built. He also says that it is the most learned of the cities, but that its intellectual culture is more advanced in the political and moral sciences, literature and the arts, than in the exact and natural sciences. These two beautiful branches of knowledge, however, he adds, are but in their infancy in this country, though they are sensibly making progress. The Society of Natural History in Boston is spoken of in a complimentary manner, and its collection, which he visited, is praised for the scientific and neat arrangement of its specimens. We trust that the day is not very far distant, when it will much better deserve the attention and praise of scientific foreigners than it now does; when the public shall be more thoroughly roused to the claims of natural science than they now are; when the Society of Natural History will be enabled, by the assistance of a liberal and enlightened community, to do that for the honor of their country which they are longing to do; and when Boston shall be as distinguished for

proficiency in science as she now is for advancement in literature. We should rejoice to see that day.

Of the Institution for the Blind in our city, of its director, Dr. Howe, and of the improvements which that gentleman has introduced in the means of instruction, our traveller speaks in terms of high and deserved commendation. He admires the skill and ingenuity with which Dr. Howe has managed to reduce the cumbrous dimensions of books for the blind, while he has at the same time preserved if not increased the distinctness of the letter; and declares that "with respect to clearness of relief and perfection of presswork, the Boston books are to be recommended as models; and the same is true of the geographical maps, the geometrical figures, and the characters of music."

He attended the Commencement exercises at the University in Cambridge, which he says, "were concluded by a Latin discourse, very elegant throughout, and excessively courteous to the ladies." Then follows his description of the Commencement dinner.

"The music, which had played in the intervals of the ceremony, accompanied us to the halls of the college, where the tables were set out for the academic repast. About five hundred persons were at the dinner, for all graduates of the college were admitted, as well as a large number of strangers, and guests from Boston. Here was furnished me a new occasion to admire the *naiveté* of American manners, and the traces of the primitive religious simplicity of the inhabitants of this country. The entertainment exhibited no more of the luxury and delicate refinement of the present age, than the ceremony which had preceded it. Under each plate was a printed paper, containing the verses of *a psalm on childhood*, which was to be sung at the close of the banquet. We sat down after a short prayer of thanks to the Supreme Being, pronounced in a loud voice by an aged clergyman. It is unnecessary to add, that the whole thing passed off without bursts of laughter, without noise, and without toasts. Finally, we sung the hymn in full chorus."

Most of our readers know, that the "psalm on childhood," as our friend terms it, is the good old LXXVIIIth Psalm, which has been sung on that occasion we cannot tell how long, and which we hope will be sung on the same, long after our own generation has been gathered to our sleeping fathers.

With the General Hospital in Boston M. de la Sagra is absolutely delighted. He tells his countrymen that they have no

idea of the order, neatness, and exact propriety with which such establishments are conducted, and that he can only give them an idea of the splendor and spaciousness of the buildings, by comparing them with the saloons and galleries of European palaces. In both these regards the Boston Hospital is represented as a type and model of its kind. Of this institution, of the insane hospital at Worcester, and other institutions, he offers details which are valuable not only to strangers, but for convenient reference at home.

But we must now take a reluctant leave of our author, who returns through Worcester to New York, and makes the last entry on his journal there, on the twenty-second of September. The statistics which he has collected may be relied upon, for they have been obtained from the proper sources. His remarks on our character are perhaps somewhat too kind, but they do not want discrimination, and show him to be a man of amiable, generous, and grateful dispositions, which are not so common among travellers that we need not value them when we find them. His book cannot compare, and does not seek or pretend to compare, with that of Chevalier, or that of De Tocqueville, in profoundness of moral and political investigation and remark; but for a journal of five months, it is unusually instructive and pleasing.

F. W. P. G.

ART. VII. — *The Life and Times of the Rev. George Whitefield, M. A.* By ROBERT PHILIP, Author of the Experimental Guides, etc. etc. etc. New York: B. Appleton and Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 554.

WHO this Mr. Philip is, who has undertaken to paint anew, and to hold up to the world, as he would have us suppose, the only true picture of Whitefield, no opportunities of our own would have enabled us to declare. From the dedication of his work we suppose that he has a residence near London; and from the title page, we are informed that he is author of "The Experimental Guides," and of various other works, of which, if the present be a specimen, we shall by no means venture the perusal. For a poorer production, in the shape

of a Memoir, it has seldom been our bad fortune to read. It is enough to say of it, that even Mr. William Roberts' Life of Hannah More is better than this. And they who have considered these latter volumes — we refer only to the part furnished by Roberts himself — will want no lower standard of comparison.

When the injured queen of that brutal monarch, Henry the Eighth, wished no other herald to keep her honor from corruption than such a chronicler as Griffith, she unquestionably included in her notions of a biographer some decent skill of putting words together; without which, the honesty she counted indispensable, and the most charitable judgment would but imperfectly express themselves. Now of this gift our Mr. Robert Philip seems to have no conception. Many and unaccountable are the liberties he takes with his mother tongue, and not few are his sentences, that are scarcely less remarkable for awkwardness of expression than for the crude theology they convey. Yet it is said that Mr. Philip's books are popular with his own party in England, and we perceive from a glance at the bookseller's counter, that they obtain a speedy re-publication among ourselves. If it be so, the greater the pity. For it is no promising indication of the taste or correct feeling of any religious community to favor such productions as these. The utterance of a sincere and humble piety is respectable, and in the most illiterate is to be interpreted with all candor. It is delightful also to see how a true religious feeling will convey its own purity and energy to the expression of it. Touching examples of this may often be found in the devotions and the conversation of very humble Christians. It was some experience of this sort, and no small part of his reward for his frank and friendly intercourse with people of all conditions, from the monarch in his palace to the lowest Scotch peasant, that drew from Sir Walter Scott that fine sentiment, to which with all our hearts we respond; and whoever has been happy enough to have known any portion of the religious poor, will respond to it too. "I have read books enough, and observed and conversed with enough of eminent and splendidly cultivated minds, too, in my time. But I assure you, that I have heard higher sentiments from the lips of poor uneducated men and women, when exerting the spirit of severe yet gentle heroism under difficulties and afflictions, or speaking their simple thoughts as to cir-

cumstances in the lot of friends and neighbors, than I ever yet met with out of the pages of the Bible." *

But the expression of right feeling is one thing, and the making of a good book is another. Now this last is precisely that thing, which Mr. Robert Philip knows not how to do. Not that we would discourage him. He is not alone. Many there be in his good land and ours, who with no helps from colleges might instruct and even subdue us by their modest simple piety, who would but poorly succeed in committing their thoughts to the press. And when our author is meditating another like experiment, we commend it to his consideration, as well as to all who like him are prone to make books, that to this one particular business two things are essential, namely, some knowledge of one's mother tongue, and some knowledge of one's self, — what we can, and what we cannot perform. Of his own skill in these particulars our author favors us with the following specimen, in the introduction of his work.

"When Whitefield entered the University of Oxford, that seat of learning had not shaken off the moral lethargy which followed the ejectment of the two thousand nonconformists. The *Bartholomew Bushel*, under which those burning and shining lights were placed, proved an extinguisher to the zeal of the luminaries that struck into the orbit of uniformity. Those of them who retained their light lost their heat. During the seventy years which had elapsed since the expulsion of the nonconformists, the Isis had been changed into a Dead sea, upon the banks of which the tree of life shrivelled into a tree of mere human knowledge; and, in the adjacent halls, the doctrines of the Reformation were superseded, in a great measure, by high church principles. Even irreligion and infidelity were so prevalent at both Universities, that when the statue of the age was chiselled by that moral Phidias, Butler, they seem to have furnished the model!" — p. 22.

From this brief specimen, our readers will readily assent to the remark of the author, who in his preface is pleased to observe, "In regard to the *style* of the work I have nothing to say, except that it is *my own.*" And being of opinion that the time had not yet come for "the *philosophy* of Whitefield's life," he is still gratified to think that it is fast approaching; and ventures to hold out the encouragement, that his

* Lockhart's Life of Walter Scott.

mass of facts will then be turned to good account by himself, or by some one. In the mean time he enjoys the satisfaction of having done more for his subject, than Gillies, Middleton, Winter, and all others that had preceded him. "For Whitefield," says he, "will now be known to the public, which he was not until now." And having at last conducted his reader safely to the end of his book, instead of a more classic form of self-congratulation, "*exegi monumentum*," &c., which his humility forbade, he simply remarks, "I have now finished my portraiture of Whitefield. It is, I am aware, not *fine*. But it is faithful so far as I know."

The period at which Whitefield and Wesley first appeared was unquestionably, as our writer intended to show, a dark period in the religious history of England. From the time of the Second George, who ascended the throne while these zealous reformers were yet in the schools, till after the American Revolution, when the fruit of their labors and of others less enthusiastic than themselves was apparent, great religious indifference among the upper, great ignorance and vice among the lower classes prevailed. There was corruption enough in the state to justify the maxim of that artful minister, Sir Robert Walpole, upon which he wanted not the effrontery to act in his disposal of political patronage, "That every man had his price, and was therefore to be bought." There was deadness in the church, whose dignities and emoluments were too often bestowed upon those, who, whatever they might profess at their ordination, gave no evidence in their lives that they were "moved by the Holy Spirit to seek the priest's office." And there was a corresponding worldliness and profligacy in the people. Of all this ample evidence is seen not only in the authentic history of the time, but in the remonstrances and exhortations of the more faithful of the preachers, as Butler, Clarke, Secker, of the establishment, Grove, Watts, and others among the dissenters; and in the lighter productions of the day, as of Fielding and Smollett, who, though professedly writing fiction, are known to have drawn their characters and scenes from actual life. Especially deplorable at this time was the ignorance and debasement of the laboring classes, which if any one question, he need but recur to the life and labors of Mrs. Hannah More and her devoted sisters, of Raikes of Bristol and others besides Whitefield and Wesley, who toiled with unwearied assiduity in the cause, and were rewarded by seeing, before they died, the fruits of their efforts.

We must pass over all that relates to Whitefield's early ministrations in Wales, and the west of England, where, as we learn from better authority than Mr. Philip, there were ignorance and profligacy enough to engage for their recovery spirits less fervent than his, and confine ourselves chiefly to his labors in America. But for the sake of method, as well as for the satisfaction of our readers, as to a material passage in every young minister's life, we will just advert to his first efforts at matrimony, which were too characteristic and peculiar to be successful.

After he had been engaged in preaching about four years, his thoughts were naturally turned to this subject, and from two letters written in 1740, on his passage to Philadelphia, — we are not informed to whom, — it sufficiently appears how subordinate in his raised affections were his notions of a wife to his higher views of his ministry. He takes the occasion, while he writes as a suitor, to bless God, — we think he could hardly have expected the lady to have joined in the thanksgiving, — that if he knew anything of himself, "he was free from that foolish passion which the world calls love." The lady, it seems, was not afraid of speaking her mind; and thinking, as she had an entire right to do, that a marriage offered in such an absolute repose of the affections "might be in some way prejudicial," prudently waved the proposal. Whitefield married some five years afterwards a Welch widow. But the experiment, if such it might be deemed, wholly failed. One of his contemporaries tells us, "that Whitefield was not happy in his wife; that she certainly did not behave as she ought; and that her death set his mind much at rest." The plain truth is, that his perpetual journeyings and engagements abroad, his insatiable zeal and professional ambition were incompatible with domestic enjoyment. That happened to him, which happens justly to all men, who sink their private in their public relations, and look upon their own dwelling as only a convenient resting place, that he was but coldly received at home, while he was an idol abroad; and the contrast worked, as might be expected, mischief on each side. Both Wesley and himself, whatever might have been their differences in other regards, had this at least in common, that they were indifferent husbands; and whether for the trial of faith, as their admirers thought, or in way of recompense, as we interpret the

matter, they were both afflicted with most uncompromising wives.

Whitefield made no less than seven voyages to America. He began early in his ministry to look to this country as the scene of his labors, being earnestly solicited by the Wesleys and Inghams, who had preceded him in Georgia, and who sent letters of invitation to come over and join them. At first he seems to have hesitated, and spent some of the first months succeeding his ordination, partly at Oxford, converting the prisoners at the castle, and exhorting the students of the University, and partly in those incessant labors of journeying, preaching, catechising, and visiting from house to house, in which his strength and life were ever after employed. Nothing is more wonderful in his whole history than his indefatigable labor. How it was possible for one of no uncommon physical strength, in sicknesses not infrequent, sometimes going from his bed to the pulpit, or to the field, to preach daily, at early morning, at noon, and at evening, and once it is recorded of him seven times in one day, and still to be distinctly heard not by hundreds only, but by thousands and thousands in the open air, — and this too, as not seldom happened to him, amidst noise and insult, — may well provoke our curiosity. It is an interesting fact in the history of eloquence, sacred and profane, that with singular intellectual gifts of any sort will be usually found united corresponding physical gifts of voice and manner to give them efficacy. It would be in vain to deny to Whitefield the praise of a remarkable natural eloquence. Meagre and poor as are his published writings, leaving us utterly at a loss as to the secret of his power, the power itself cannot be questioned. His most prejudiced hearers, like Lord Chesterfield and others, who went arming themselves against him, returned confessing their defeat. He compelled them, for the time at least, to enter into his views, and even to comply with his requests. All his biographers concur in their accounts of his charity sermons, "when the most worldly-minded were made to part with their money in so generous a manner, that when they returned to their former temper, they were ready to think it had been conjured from them by some inexplicable charm." Nor was this wholly inexplicable. The charm was in his gift of utterance; his strong and natural expression; his earnest countenance, notwithstanding his squinting eye, and perhaps more than all in a field preacher, his penetrating and

musical voice, of which self-possession and courage gave him an absolute command, so that none of his words fell to the ground, or failed of the effect he intended.

In the consciousness of physical gifts like these, combined with a fruitful imagination and a fervent zeal, Whitefield felt himself called to missionary labor in America. Of the sincerity of his zeal we have no inclination to doubt. That he was animated by a sincere love of souls in entering upon such a course, Christian charity forbids us to deny. That this zeal, however, had its usual helps from other than religious considerations, so that Whitefield amidst all his labors found part of his reward in the fame and other gratifications that the world can bestow, we also believe. Nor is this any serious deduction from his merits. In this imperfect world, the best of men are prompted to their best actions by a variety of motives, and to our view it is but another of the countless proofs of the kindness of our Heavenly Father, the great moral Governor, that rejoicing as he does in the virtue of his children, he is pleased to encourage them by so many helps to goodness; and that, knowing their weakness of faith in the higher rewards of the world that shall be, he does not leave them without some satisfactions even in the life that *is*.

Under the influence then, as we shall take it for granted, of various motives, partly religious and partly personal, Whitefield came for the first time to America in 1738. He had then received only deacon's orders in the church of England, and was twenty-three years of age. He arrived at the Parsonage-house in Savannah, which Wesley had occupied, nearly four months after his embarking from London. This tedious passage, so singularly contrasted with the passages of half as many weeks at the present time, might have prevailed with others of a less determined resolution to damp their zeal. But wherever Whitefield was, by land or by sea, he never forgot his vocation. He wrote letters, composed sermons, as well as preached them, and if his own account is to be taken without limitation, he must have been favored with an unusually docile and congenial set of fellow-passengers, whose subjects of conversation were certainly of a more theological stamp than we have supposed usual in the cabins of our passage-ships. He had succeeded well in infusing his own love of religious discussion; for thus he writes in his journal: "Blessed be God, we now live very comfortably in the great

cabin. We talk of little else than God and Christ, and scarce a word is heard among us when together, but what has reference to our fall in the first, and our new birth in the second Adam."

The object, that first engaged the attention of Whitefield on his arrival in America, was the establishment of the Orphan House in Georgia. This benevolent project, which afterwards for more than thirty years occupied so large a place in his thoughts and labors, and was the fruitful source to him at once of great satisfaction and of great reproach, was not entirely his own suggestion. It was first proposed to him, as he ingenuously acknowledges in the detailed history he was compelled in self-defence to give of the Institution, by his friend, Mr. Charles Wesley, "who," says he, "had concerted a scheme for carrying on such a design, before I had any thoughts of going abroad myself." But whatever may be said of the first suggestion, the merit of the actual foundation and commencement of the charity belongs to Whitefield, who by his preaching and personal influence procured large funds for its establishment, devised the plan, superintended, as far as his frequent absences in his own country would permit, its operation, engaged individuals and the government both of Georgia and of England in its behalf, and was the moving spirit, the life and strength of the whole institution. Its object seemed to be wise, as it certainly was benevolent. It appeared that of the adventurers, who early came to Georgia, great numbers became victims of the hardships, to which they were exposed in a new settlement and an unfriendly climate. Consequently many poor fatherless children were found in Georgia, and it was to provide for the support and education of such that the Orphan House was erected.

This charitable purpose was so successfully pursued, that from the time of its foundation in 1739 to Whitefield's death in 1770, besides other poor, who were included in its charity, one hundred and forty boys and forty-three girls had been rescued from exposure and want, clothed, educated, and afterwards suitably provided for. The original design of this charity, embracing both sexes, seems to have been the same with that of our own Farm School, and Boston Asylum for Indigent Girls. It was a cherished child of Whitefield, who devoted himself to its interests with his characteristic fervor, and judging from its success and the patronage it conciliated, with prudence and

ability. Of his entire disinterestedness in the matter, and even of his integrity there were not wanting from the beginning some who doubted. The large contributions he collected both in Great Britain and America were the occasion of suspicion. Nor can we wonder under all the circumstances of the case, — the institution itself at a distance, its very existence and history resting on the word of an individual, while most of its patrons were in another hemisphere, — that distrust should have arisen. "There are some," says its founder, "who affirm that there is no such thing. But how it should enter into the heart of any to say so, I should not have conceived, unless the Scripture had said, 'the heart of man is desperately wicked.' And as for other aspersions cast upon me, as though I collected money to enrich myself, it gives me little or no concern. For God knows the heart, and at the day of judgment I will prove those persons liars."

But Whitefield should have remembered that the day of judgment was not immediately at hand, and that in the mean time his character, and with it his cause, might suffer. He should have remembered also, that patrons to a charity, though they cannot read the heart, have a right and are fully competent to examine accounts. Had he only done from the beginning what every wise man in the receipt of public moneys, above all of public charities, will never fail to do, he would have avoided much trouble and reproach. It is very possible indeed, though this does not appear, that he might from time to time have made satisfactory returns to his personal friends. But both his duty and his interest plainly demanded another course. At length, in 1745, he published in self-defence a detailed history of the institution. And no one, we think, who shall read that narrative, with all the accounts and vouchers annexed, with the testimonies official and private to the faithfulness and integrity of the founder, the honorable mention made of him in some of the acts of the Legislature of Georgia, conveying grants of money and land in aid of his project, and all committed to his discretion by men who, as residents in Georgia, were not strangers to him or to his methods of conducting, but will be satisfied that throughout the whole concern Whitefield preserved his integrity. We have perused with some care these documents; and should charge ourselves with a want of the charity that thinketh

no evil, if we did not verily believe that "his hands were clean." *

After the Orphan House had flourished as a charity only for more than twenty years, Whitefield with some of its patrons in Savannah were desirous to extend the original plan, and petitioned the king for a charter like that of the college in New Jersey, with a Theological Seminary annexed. In aid of this proposal the Legislature of Georgia had already granted two thousand acres of land, and in terms highly honorable to Whitefield, recommended his petition to the royal favor. But it was not granted, partly from the opposition of the English Bishops, jealous of a seminary that should be open alike to the children of Churchmen and Dissenters. A correspondence took place between Whitefield and Dr. Secker, afterwards the antagonist of Mayhew, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, who in the name of the church insisted upon subscription to the articles, and other parts of the exclusive system, prevailing in Oxford and Cambridge. But Whitefield, who had collected the funds from Christians of all denominations, and more than any other from Dissenters in both countries, and moreover had pledged his word, that the college should be placed upon a liberal basis, was too faithful to his word, and too catholic in his own principles, to submit to such an intolerance. After some patient waiting and remonstrance, he withdrew his petition, only requesting leave from the Archbishop to

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* The following is a copy of one of the certificates, published with Mr. Whitefield's Narrative.

"Savannah in Georgia.

"This day personally appeared before us, Henry Parker and William Spencer, bailiffs, &c., with William Woodrooffe, &c. &c., who being duly sworn, say, that they have carefully examined all the accounts relating to the Orphan House in Georgia, with the original bills, receipts, and other vouchers, from Dec. 15, 1738 to the first of January, 1745; and that the moneys received amount to the sum of £4982-12-8 sterling; and that it does not appear, that the Rev. Mr. Whitefield hath converted any part thereof to his own private use and property, or charged the said house with his travelling or any other private expenses, but on the contrary hath contributed to the said house many valuable benefactions: That the moneys disbursed on account of said house amounted to £5511-17-9¼ sterling, which we, in justice to Rev. Mr. Whitefield, do hereby declare, appear to us to be faithfully and justly applied to the use and benefit of said house alone.

"Signed this 16th day of April, 1746."

print the correspondence; and the original Orphan House, left to its own resources, and wanting after his death one for its head of like energy with his own, gradually decayed and perished. What became of its funds, whether absorbed in the annual expenditures, or otherwise diverted, does not appear in any memoirs we remember of its founder.

We now turn to a part of Mr. Whitefield's history, not to be overlooked in any view of his character, because in truth identified with his name and glory, but to us, we acknowledge, far less satisfactory than what we have already seen of his charitable labors in Georgia, — we mean his preaching and whole missionary career in New England. And we set out with a full admission of all that there was extraordinary in the gifts of this singular person. That he was endued with an eloquence capable of producing wonderful effects, and with a voice so sweet, and a command of it so perfect, that with the mere utterance of the word "*Mesopotamia*" he could make his hearers weep, has been already admitted. That it was the effect of his preaching, sometimes transient, sometimes permanent, to awaken the conscience, to soften the obdurate heart, to convert indifference and worldliness, profligacy, and infidelity itself to a sense of religion, and fearful waiting for of judgment, is also true. Though he was not seldom a son of thunder, and the word in him as a fire, and as a hammer that breaks the rock in pieces, there was sometimes a melting tenderness, which seldom failed to subdue.

But that with all his eloquence and all its effect there were grave faults, we have now to show. With his speculations or creed we have at present no concern. But for once supposing them true, even to the extent in which his zeal sometimes carried them, we still see so much of art and extravagance, of dogmatism and effrontery in this celebrated itinerant, as most seriously to impair our confidence, while it leaves us only to more astonishment at the undeniable effect of his ministrations.

And of these qualities we mention first his effrontery, which in his youth and for the earlier periods of his ministry was absolutely boundless. In no place, and at no period, was this quality so conspicuously exhibited, as in his first visit to Boston, to Cambridge, and some other parts of New England.

Mr. Whitefield's first appearance in Boston was in August 1740, about four years after he had begun to preach, and when

he had not yet completed the twenty-sixth year of his age. At that period Boston was favored with the ministry of Drs. Colman and Cooper of Brattle Street Church; of Foxcroft and Chauncy in the first Church; of Prince and Sewall in the Old South Church, of Webb, and within two or three years after, of Andrew Eliot in the New North, besides others within the city and its neighborhood; than whom few either of their cotemporaries or successors, up to the present day, have been more eminent for theological learning, for pastoral fidelity, or unimpeachable piety and good morals. Of these, some, as Colman, and Foxcroft, and Sewall had attained, the first to venerable, the others to advanced years, and the ministries of some of them had already exceeded the whole life of Mr. Whitefield. At Cambridge, in the college, was President Holyoke, Dr. Wigglesworth senior, the first professor of Divinity, Dr. Winthrop, in the Mathematical department; and for the pastor of the Church was Dr. Nathaniel Appleton, even then distinguished for the piety, integrity, and simplicity of manners, even to Puritanism, which marked his character for almost half a century afterwards. In other parts of the commonwealth were at the same period, Dr. Gay of Hingham, Balch of Bradford, Barnard of Newbury, and afterwards of Salem, with many others of like gifts and virtues, whose praise is still in the churches.

Such were the persons, who at that day presided in the college and filled the churches of New England, and when this youthful Whitefield appeared among them, there is no evidence that they had lost in any measure the character given of their body a few years before by Dr. Cotton Mather, in replying to the slanders of yet another accuser of his brethren, and which is thus quoted by Dr. Chauncy in his "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion." *

"There is not that spot of ground upon the face of God's earth, which can proportionably match New England for ministers, that not only have and use all true piety, but are exemplary for it. Let this wicked Shimei find so much as one ungodly man allowed as a minister in any of our churches. Neighbors, you are blest with ministers who excel in piety; you have reason to be thankful for such holy, humble, able, painful, and prayerful ministers, as God has generally blest these

* Page 142.

churches withal. And I exhort you, as you would approve yourselves worthy to wear the name that was begun at Antioch, that you do not forget that command of our Lord, 'Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls.'"

This witness is true. The clergy of New England, from the time of its settlement at Plymouth to the period in question, were, as a body, distinguished not only for their learning and moral worth, but for their devotion to the appropriate duties of their calling; living among their people, spending and being spent in their service. The vices, which prevailed among the clergy of the establishment in the parent country, and which then beyond any other period might have justified Whitefield's stern rebuke, such as non-residence, pluralities and consequent desertion of the flock, infrequent preaching, and the preaching of stolen sermons; indolence, luxury, ambition, sycophantic attendance on the court, watching for promotion at the gates of Prime Ministers, instead of watching for souls, — to say nothing of fox-hunting, and other yet less clerical pursuits, — neither these nor anything approaching to them were known or even imagined in America. From the very nature of the civil government, of the ecclesiastical, that is, congregational discipline, and the whole condition of society, these vices were impossible. Their only offence, in the sight of Whitefield and of other fanatical persons who joined themselves to him, was, that the most learned among them, as Colman, Chauncy, Gay, adopted the Arminian rather than the Calvinistic faith, asserted the right of private judgment, and regarded the Scriptures as the sufficient standard of belief and practice. And yet scarcely had this young gentleman set foot upon the American strand, than, like many other inexperienced travellers from England in latter times and of other callings, he began to pass sentence upon the churches. "He seldom preached," says Dr. Chauncy, "but he had something or other in his sermon against unconverted ministers. And what he delivered, especially at some certain times, had an evident tendency to fill the minds of people with evil surmisings against the ministers, as though they were for the most part carnal, unregenerate wretches. He often spoke of them in the lump, as Pharisees, enemies of Christ Jesus, and the worst enemies he had. And as though he had not done enough by preaching to beget in people an ill opinion of the

ministers, he expresses his fear, in his journal in New England, lest many, nay, the most that preach, do not experimentally know Christ."

Now let any impartial reader consider this case. Here is a young man, no matter of what church or by what name he is called, with not more than twenty-five years *over* his head, and but a scanty stock of learning *in* it, coming, an entire stranger from a distant land, with no time for personal knowledge, and deriving all his impressions from prejudiced report, venturing at once to assail from the pulpit, in their own churches, and in the hearing of their own flocks, men of twice his years, of more than twice his wisdom, who for years had approved themselves faithful ministers, when as yet Whitefield had not breathed the breath of life. We are aware of the devices by which the fervors and even the arrogance of a sectarian zeal are by some exalted into virtues. But for ourselves we can regard the conduct of Whitefield in this matter only as a strange effrontery, utterly irreconcilable not only with the modesty of youth, for which no zeal for God or love of souls, as we interpret it, can be allowed as a substitute, but with any deep or true religious feeling. But against the churches and the college, which received its full share of the abuse, he was guilty — and we are not studious to leave doubtful our meaning — of astonishing presumption and impertinence, uttering against them what he knew not, condemning where he had no right, because he had no means to judge, and denouncing men, older, wiser, better than himself, whom the community of which they were a part had chosen to honor, and against whose lives and conversation through a whole generation not a whisper had been heard.

Happily for this bold accuser, his grosser offences against charity were for the most part the sins of his youth. We are glad to record that he afterwards saw reason to regret his extravagances, and in his subsequent visits to New England learned to utter his judgments with a more becoming modesty. "In my zeal," said he shortly after his return to England, "during my journey through America, I had written two well-meant though injudicious letters, and had said against Archbishop Tillotson, that he knew no more of religion than Mahomet," &c.; "and I think I had some too strong expressions about absolute reprobation, which the apostle leaves rather to be inferred than expressed. The world was angry at me for the former, and numbers of my own spiritual children for the latter." It was

his strenuous and unqualified adherence to the Calvinistic doctrines of election and irreversible decrees, of the perseverance of those who are in Christ, and of final reprobation of the wicked, that not long after the date of these confessions occasioned his separation from Wesley, one of the most memorable passages of his history, in which the distinctive features in the characters of these two celebrated reformers are displayed, and of which Mr. Southey, in his life of the latter, has given with his usual discrimination a full and highly interesting account.

But our concern is chiefly with Whitefield in America; and before passing to other topics, we may just inquire for our readers, Was there not after all something in the state of Harvard College, and something too in the state of the churches, respectable and learned as might have been the teachers and the ministers, that furnished some apology, if not justification, for the reproaches of Whitefield, and which being urged, not as was done by this zealous itinerant, in sectarian bitterness, but in friendship and sincerity, should have been listened to, and produced reform? We answer, it may have been so. Colleges and churches are of course subject to the faults and decay common to all things human; and there is an undeniable tendency in all institutions, academic or religious, to lose somewhat of the zeal and carefulness in which their foundations were laid. The sin charged upon the churches was departure from the orthodox or Calvinistic faith, which, whether it be counted for evil or good, for congratulation or regret, must of course depend on each one's private judgment. In relation to Harvard College, there seems to have been no ground whatever for the reproaches so freely and audaciously cast upon it by Whitefield. At few periods of its history have there been wiser or more faithful men engaged in its instruction and discipline than at the very period in question. And it may well be taken as a convincing proof of the ascendancy obtained by this youthful calumniator, that such men as Holyoke, the President of the College, whom few in his station have exceeded in dignity and the power of commanding respect, and Wigglesworth, who held this Theological chair with great reputation for more than forty-two years, and whose abilities were favorably displayed in his share of this very transaction, and Professor Winthrop, whose literary distinctions were united to great weight of character and rank in political life, — that such men as these should have thought it necessary to stand forth on the occasion as defenders

of the college. It is evident, that they did not think the calumny, youthful as was the author, and a stripling in all respects in comparison with themselves, beneath their notice. "They published," says Mr. Peirce in his faithful history of the University, "a Pamphlet entitled 'The Testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors, and Hebrew Instructer of Harvard College against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield and his Conduct," which was signed by all the resident instructers, with the name of the President at their head, and in which they declared Mr. Whitefield to be "an enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable person, and a deluder of the people," and condemned him "both as an *extempore* and as an itinerant preacher;" adducing at the same time some special instances of his arrogance and censoriousness, and concluding with an earnest recommendation to "the Pastors of these churches of Christ to advise with one another, and consider whether it be not time to make a stand against the mischiefs," &c. &c.

It was not till after the publication of his Journal in England, containing the injurious aspersions on our colleges and churches, (for it is to be observed that Yale College was equally involved in his calumnies,) and upon his second visit to this country in 1744, that Whitefield found himself under the necessity of a defence. He replied to the "Testimony," but in a manner very unsatisfactory, and in some points insolent. He pretended, as many other censorious bigots have done since, either not understanding or not choosing to consider the meaning of their words, that "in asserting that the Universities were in a state of Egyptian darkness, he *meant nothing but what was very harmless!* that he had no idea of representing the College in such a deplorable state of immorality and irreligion as was supposed. However, I am sorry," he adds, "I published my private information, though from credible persons;" and after some general expressions of good will to Harvard College, and a "*magnanimous* offer of his own forgiveness for the injury they had done him! — he requests their forgiveness if he on his own part have done them wrong."*

Such an apology, it must be granted, was but an inadequate atonement for so serious an offence. President Holyoke, who, in his Convention Sermon in 1741, had expressed himself

* See Peirce's History of Harvard University, Chap. 22.

charitably towards Whitefield while he refuted his aspersions,* was compelled to retract his favorable judgment; and being charged by Whitefield with some inconsistency, he writes: "Alas! how was I deluded by show and appearance! and not only I, but multitudes besides me, who no doubt would be as ready as I am now, had they a proper occasion for it, to say they have been sorrowfully deceived; and that whatever good was done, hath been prodigiously overbalanced by the evil; and the furious zeal, with which you so fired the passions of the people, hath in many places burnt up the very vitals of religion; and a censorious, uncharitable disposition hath in multitudes usurped the place of godly jealousy."

The letter written by Dr. Wigglesworth was yet more decisive. Both for ability and judgment it fully deserves the encomium passed upon it by Mr. Peirce as an "admirable production." Its length must preclude our transferring it to these pages, but our readers may find all that relates to the college in the Appendix to the "History"; and we close our notice of this part of Whitefield's career, with the following paragraph of the Professor's letter.

"And now, Sir, for myself I can with great sincerity assure you, that it hath been no small grief of heart to me, to deal with you in this public manner. But as these things have all been made public by your own writings, which are read, I suppose, in all parts of the British dominions in Europe and America; and, as I apprehend, you have been permitted to fall into repeated, deliberate, most public, and pernicious violations of the holy laws of God, I cannot persuade myself that any good could come of private conferences; but think that you ought to give satisfaction in as public a manner as you have given offence; which I earnestly pray God to incline your heart to do."

Whitefield's growing experience and years had, we believe, their usual effect in improving his judgment and enlarging his charity. For to adopt here the good words of Baxter,

* "I am glad," says the President, "that from my own experience of things I can assure this venerable audience this day, that that Seminary hath not deserved the aspersions which have of late been made upon it, either as to the Principles there prevalent or the books there read." — "Nor has that Society been in so happy a state as to these things, from the time that I was first acquainted with the Principles there (some thirty-five years ago) as it is at this day."

often quoted in such connexions, "As fruit grows mellow in ripening for the taste, so age grows kinder in ripening for heaven." He was soon after called to some still severer trials of his charity in his controversy to which we have alluded, and final separation from Wesley; and in the opposition he excited within the bosom of his own church, from whose Bishops he had received ordination, and of which, notwithstanding his irregularity and violations of its canons by extempore preaching, field preaching, and fellowship with Dissenters, he still claimed to be a minister.

Our purpose does not require us to pursue further the history of Mr. Whitefield, and we have no desire to follow Mr. Philip either in his affectations or rambling digressions. Most of our readers probably know, that Whitefield's ministry was divided between his native country and ours; that within the thirty-four years spent most industriously in missionary labors he crossed the Atlantic not less than thirteen times, chiefly in the cause of his Orphan House in Georgia, and of the chapels he established in England. As the chaplain of the Lady Huntingdon, a weak but we believe sincerely pious woman, — whose rank and fortune were united to a most charitable temper, and a strangely confused theology, — he obtained the acquaintance of several of like station with herself, who were attracted by his eloquence, and some of whom were converted to his doctrine. Often feeble, and assailed by violent disease threatening speedy dissolution, he was in perpetual journeyings, to which neither his wife nor his home seemed to have been regarded as the slightest obstacles. All his taste and habits were itinerant, and, it must be confessed, they were necessary to one, whose field was the world, and who was conscious of gifts, for which not a single church but all christendom was the appropriate theatre.

Neither will it be doubted, that to one constituted as was this ardent missionary, with whom habits of study were almost unknown, the mode of life he pursued had its conveniences and exemptions as well as toils. It exempted him from painful study, and the writing of many sermons. It appears from his diary, that he preached very frequently in the course of one journey from the same text; and even in discourses professedly on different topics, his most remarkable sayings were perpetually repeated. His chief labor was in his delivery. To this, in which with the magic of his voice lay his power, he gave the most careful attention, "leaving nothing to accident," says his

biographer, "that he could regulate with care. Hence practised preachers and shrewd observers could tell at once whenever he delivered a sermon for the first time. Foote and Garrick, who sometimes were drawn to Tottenham Court Chapel or Moors-field from curiosity, maintained that his oratory was never perfect until he had repeated a discourse *forty* times,"—after which, having made himself perfect, he may have repeated it forty times more. Dr. Franklin, who was once upon a charity occasion so far subdued as to empty his pockets, when he had previously resolved to give nothing, says, "By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed and those he had preached often in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improved by repetition, that every accent, every emphasis, was so perfectly tuned, that without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse,—a pleasure much of the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music."* By the repetition of his discourses, we understand the repetition only of the leading thoughts, the illustration or enlargement being left to the hour. For Whitefield had neither time nor skill for the full writing out of discourses. Probably not one in a hundred that was preached was regularly composed; and the few that were published give ample evidence that it was the skilful utterance and not weight of thought that gave them power.

He was capable of attitudes and gestures, the very thought of which in another would have argued madness, and the least failure would have been an unmixed absurdity. That Whitefield even attempted them proves the consciousness of his power, but it equally proves the wretchedness of his taste. He would smite with his hands, stamp with his feet, beseech with tears, and lift up his voice like a trumpet, as if to fulfil the commands given to Ezekiel and the ancient prophets. "I have known him," says Winter, "avail himself of the formality of the judge, put-

* Dr. Jonathan Mayhew was not equally delighted with what he heard of Whitefield's preaching. On one occasion he says, that it was as poor, and meagre, and contemptible a performance as he had ever attended; and wondered how people could be captivated with it. Perhaps we must make some allowance for the prejudices of Dr. Mayhew. But Whitefield, like other preachers, whose success depends on frames of mind, and tone of spirits, and external circumstance, must have been very unequal.

ting on his black cap, to pronounce sentence. With his eyes full of tears, and heart almost too big to admit of speech, he would say after a momentary pause, 'I am now going to put on my condemning cap. Sinner, I must do it. I must pronounce sentence.' Then, in a strain of tremendous eloquence, he would repeat our Lord's words, 'Depart, ye cursed!' and not without a very powerful description of the nature of that curse."

It is said, however, "that Whitefield was always *solemn*, and suffered nothing to seem at variance with his deep solemnity. There was no levity," says Winter, "in his lively sallies, and no departure from the spirit of his mission, even when he used 'market language.' He made everything tend to a solemn effect; and even when he created a momentary smile, the most dissipated and thoughtless still found their attention fixed." This we confess is at some variance with our impressions, but it is the testimony of an eye-witness, and, if true, will be admitted as some extenuation for improprieties, which it is difficult to distinguish from levity or irreverence.

Our readers, we suppose, need not be informed that Whitefield died in Newburyport, Massachusetts, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Parsons, on the morning of Sunday, September 30, 1770, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his ministry. He had travelled from Portsmouth but the day before, preaching on his way, and was engaged to preach on the morrow in the pulpit of Mr. Parsons, before which at his desire his body lies buried. His tomb is still constantly visited by strangers, as they pass through that beautiful town, and for a long period, till within we believe a very few years, the body remained in a remarkable state of preservation, owing, it is said, "to the vast quantities of nitre, with which the earth abounds in that vicinity."

There have not been wanting absurd conjectures as to this matter among the admirers of Whitefield, which might have been spared, had they not overlooked the fact, that other bodies of less distinguished personages have been from the same physical causes equally well preserved. The following curious incident, of a different kind, for which no miraculous hypothesis is necessary, we quote in Mr. Philip's own words.

"It will surprise and grieve not a few on both sides of the Atlantic, when I tell them that the bones of Whitefield are not entire. Part of his *right arm* was sent to this country. I hope

it is not here still. If I thought it were not returned, I should feel inclined to tell the American ambassador where to find it, and to urge him to demand it in the name of his country.

"About two years ago, a visitor in London invited me to see 'a curiosity, sure to *gratify* me.' He mistook my taste. I went, and he placed on the table a long narrow box, defying me to guess its contents. I had no need to guess or hesitate. I said, 'It contains *the right arm* of George Whitefield, and I could name both the thief and the receiver.'" — p. 519.

In conclusion; if the great Apostle of the Gentiles besought by "the gentleness of Christ," and even when he uttered the terrors of the Lord it was to persuade men, it cannot be meet in teachers of far inferior endowments to forget, or seem to forget, that they are men of like passions with others, and subject to like condemnation. With this feeling, — and who will deny that it is the right one, — all extravagant gesticulation and tricks of oratory, especially such theatrical artifices as putting on a judgment-cap, and affecting to call back Gabriel from his passage to heaven, much as they have been admired, seem to us only as strange impertinences and incongruities, of temporary at best and doubtful effect, intolerable or ridiculous in the repetition, and much at variance with the humility and reverent caution becoming one who is sincerely seeking to win souls. On the other hand, we can easily comprehend the effect, which has been ascribed to the truly Christian labors of Mrs. Frey for the poor prisoners in Newgate, who coming to them with the gentleness and the pity, that belonged to her character as well as to her sect, said, "Perhaps you might like to hear a word of the consolation that is in Christ; for I suppose that they who sin have many sorrows." And still more do we discern of a divine power in the teachings of Him, whose consolations she offered; and who, in assigning what was indeed an adequate reason for the unbelief and cruelty of his countrymen, said: "These things will they do, because they have not known the Father nor me."

F. P.

ART. VIII. — *Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities.* By JOHN GORHAM PALFREY, D. D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the University of Cambridge. Vol. I. *The Last four Books of the Pentateuch.* Boston: James Munroe and Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 511.

"WHAT shall we do with the Old Testament?" is a question of such frequent recurrence among laymen as well as clergymen, that any serious and well considered attempt to answer it, or to supply the means of answering it, is almost sure of a hearty welcome. The anxiety and earnestness, with which this inquiry is sometimes pressed, originate, for the most part, in a presumption hastily taken up, and more or less vaguely entertained, that to believe in the New Testament we must also believe in all that the Old Testament contains, however apparently inconsistent some passages of the latter may be with the spirit of the former, with the discoveries of science, or with just notions of God and duty. Such being the difficulty it is obviously necessary in order effectually to remove it, that one of two things should be done. Either it must be shown that none of the objections urged against particular passages of the Old Testament can be sustained; that is to say, we must be convinced that these passages contain nothing irreconcilable with the Christian spirit, the discoveries of science, or just notions of God or duty; or else it must be shown, that their admitted indefensibleness in these respects has nothing to do with our belief in the truth and divine origin of Christianity.

Dr. Palfrey, in the volume before us, and most other writers on the subject, have been led very naturally, by their method of treating it, to see what can be done with a view to the first mentioned alternative. They have given us what may not inaptly be termed Apologies for the Jewish Scriptures; in which the obnoxious passages are taken up one after another, and carefully examined in their grammatical construction, and in the light of history and a higher criticism, an attempt being made to show in this way, and generally with entire success, that the popular objections to the Old Testament are founded in popular ignorance or mistake. But there is a general and preliminary inquiry on which it may not be amiss to say a few

words in this place, as it will prepare the reader to enter on the discussion of the details in a freer spirit, and with a better understanding of the bearing of the whole on the great questions of natural and revealed religion. Suppose the defence of the Old Testament to fail in some points, — suppose the Jewish Scriptures to contain a few statements which, after all that has been said, still remain in any view we can take of them, essentially incredible, — suppose that single passages occur here and there, which, in any rational account of the matter, we find it as impossible, in any proper sense of the words, to refer to a divine or a supernatural origin, as we should corresponding passages from the Zend-Avesta, the Vedas, or the Koran, — suppose all this, and in such an event, we ask, what precisely would be the nature of the difficulty presented, and to what would it amount considered as an argument against revelation generally, and the Christian revelation in particular?

We say then, in the first place, that the difficulty, supposing it really to exist, does not press primarily at least on the Jewish dispensation, in itself considered, but only on the *records* of this dispensation.

The distinction here adverted to between a divine dispensation, and its records, is so obvious and palpable to a mind void of prejudice, and is now so generally recognised by scholars and theologians, that for them not a word of explanation is necessary; but for general readers it is otherwise. You complain of difficulties in the Old Testament; but difficulties in what? Not certainly in the general idea of a divine and supernatural dispensation considered as a preparation for Christianity. Some, we know, may persist in asking why it is, if God interposed so frequently in the early ages of the world, that he never, occasionally at least, interposes now? But this question is best answered, perhaps, simply by asking another. Why is it that a wise and affectionate parent interposes so frequently in the education of his family, while they are young; but afterwards, when they are grown up, leaves them to their own guidance? Now the world is God's family; "as certain also of your own poets have said, 'For we are also his offspring.'" It stands to reason, therefore, that the race in its infancy, before the arts and sciences were introduced, or the human mind had been sufficiently matured for the reception of a purely spiritual faith and worship, or the action of moral truth alone, should have re-

quired peculiar aids; and if so, it also stands to reason, that under a truly paternal providence these aids should have been afforded; and furthermore that, as soon as the race was from any cause in a condition to dispense with them, they should be withdrawn. The simplest and most natural way of regarding God's successive supernatural dispensations is, to look upon them as being so many divine interpositions, or if the expression is preferable, so many variations in the divine procedure, adapted to the successive stages of human progress, with a view to the promotion and acceleration of this progress from age to age. Now we say, that if the Old Testament, in a general view of its contents, will help us, as it does, to trace the gradual development of such a plan from the beginning, it will not make it more difficult, but much less difficult, so far as antecedent probabilities or improbabilities go, to believe in Christianity, considered as a divine and supernatural dispensation in which this plan is carried out and consummated.

There is nothing, then, in the idea of the patriarchal and Mosaic dispensations, considered as divine and supernatural, and at the same time as preparatory, and consequently imperfect in themselves, which should occasion difficulty to a pious mind, or to an enlightened believer in Christianity. The difficulty, if any really exists, is to be found in the books to which we look for an account of these dispensations. And here again the difficulty does not grow, at least in the first instance, out of any objection to these books, considered as a whole. It grows out of an objection to certain parts of the collection; which objection is thought by way of inference to affect the credit of the whole, and thus to invalidate the evidence of the divine origin of Judaism, and consequently of Christianity as founded upon Judaism.

Now we ask, — admitting, for the sake of the argument, the specific objection here stated as existing against particular parts of the collection to be well founded, — are all or any of the inferences just mentioned fairly deducible from it? If so, it would seem to be on the principle, that we must believe the whole or none; or at least, that if we demur at certain details, we must, in order to be consistent, deny or doubt the leading facts. This, however, is a principle, which nobody would think of applying to books in general. Nobody would say, for example, of any one history, or any collection of histories of the Protestant Reformation, or of the American Revolution,

"You must believe the whole or none. If you have doubts about a single statement, it ought to shake your confidence in the entire narrative; you ought to begin to doubt whether there ever was such an event as the Protestant Reformation, or the American Revolution." It follows, then, that if this principle is nevertheless fairly applicable to the Jewish Scriptures, it must be from some peculiarity in the nature of the books themselves, or in the character or pretensions of the writers, or in the subject-matter, or in the manner in which the whole is appealed to or assumed in the New Testament.

And first of the books themselves, considered apart from any questions growing out of their contents, their authorship, or what is said of them in the New Testament, and regarded solely in the light of what may be termed their external history. What are these books? They compose the entire library of the ancient Hebrews, so far as it has come down to us, — every scrap and shred of their literature, good, bad, or indifferent, in prose or verse, which time has spared. Much, we are aware, has been said about a Temple Library before and after the captivity, and of a collection of books held peculiarly sacred by the Jews ever since the time of Ezra, or of the great Synagogue, in the third century before Christ, when and by whom this collection, we are sometimes told, was closed. But in reply to this it is enough to say that both these statements are mere conjectures or assumptions of a much later age, and rest on no historical evidence whatsoever. Externally, or if we may be allowed the expression bibliographically, all that we can be said to know of these books is, that they comprise the entire literature of an ancient tongue, — every work extant which was written by a whole people so long as they spoke that tongue, — be it law or prophecy, history or philosophy, hymn, song, or aphorism. Now we object not to the idea of sacredness which Jews and Christians, for good and substantial reasons, attach to this collection; neither do we raise any question respecting the authenticity, genuineness, or general credibility of the several books. On the contrary, we assume all this, and take it for granted that, as faithful records of Judaism, they inform us of everything which it is necessary or important for us to know, as believers in its divine and supernatural origin, and that to this extent they are worthy of entire confidence. But when it is said or implied, that we must believe the whole or none, or, which amounts to the same

thing, that a single manifest error, mistake or discrepancy, however unimportant, occurring in any part of these writings, nullifies their testimony for the leading facts, the extravagance of the principle, bad enough in its application to a single work, only strikes us as the more glaring when applied, as in this case, to the multifarious remains of the whole literature of a whole people for more than a thousand years.

But some may allege, the writers or compilers of the Old Testament claim, either expressly or by implication, to be *inspired;* and perhaps it is for this reason that we must believe the whole or none. Is it true however, in the first place, that *all* the writers of the Old Testament do set up this claim, so far, we here mean, as it can be gathered from the language, the subject, or the general tenor of what they have themselves written? That *some* do, we readily concede. Moses and the prophets, for example, were often understood to act under divine influence, and to speak from divine impulse and illumination, and meant to be so understood, and claimed to be obeyed and confided in on this account. But looking at the books themselves, or at anything which can be gathered from the Old Testament, will any one say as much of the anonymous authors or compilers of Judges and Chronicles, of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs? We think not. Certainly, therefore, there would be nothing in the detection of some inaccuracies in the last mentioned writers, which involves such a falsification of their claims, as would amount to an impeachment of their general trustworthiness.

Besides, what is inspiration, taking our notions of it, not from human creeds or modern theorists, but from the Scriptures themselves? There is not a shadow of evidence that the sacred writers ever confounded the assumption of inspiration with the assumption of omniscience or infallibility. By a supernatural agency they were impelled to take certain courses; certain great and commanding ideas and purposes were borne into and impressed on their minds, and being filled with the heaven-descended light and influence, they acted, spoke, or wrote, as the occasion required, from this fulness. As regards all other subjects and objects they were left to the ordinary action of the human faculties; and accordingly they nowhere profess either in word or deed to be universally exempt from the mistakes and prejudices common to their nation and age. They were inspired as lawgivers or prophets; but nothing can

be more gratuitous than the assumption that they were, or that they directly or indirectly pretended to be inspired as astronomers, geologists, critics, political economists, or historians. Nay, more; even as regards their inspiration as lawgivers and prophets, the inspiration properly so called, as the very term imports, consisted in the fact that the knowledge was communicated to them supernaturally. If afterwards they undertook to communicate it to others, by drawing up a connected account of it and committing it to writing, they were left, from all that appears, in the recollection of the ideas, in the choice of language, in the arrangement of the topics, and in their own reasonings and illustrations, to their own unassisted faculties. The notion of two inspirations, first to know and afterwards to tell, or, in other words, the doctrine of what is technically called an inspiration of superintendence, exerted over the writers of the Bible considered merely as writers, and keeping them from all even the minutest errors, is a pure invention, a mere figment of theologians, resting on no evidence or authority. It probably originated in the same superstition, which led Jews and Christians of former days to presume, that no errors had found their way into the sacred text through the carelessness of transcribers, the maintenance of this doctrine being indispensable, as they conceived, to the honor of God's word, and its authority as an infallible guide, — a superstition, however, which the collation of manuscripts has done enough, we should hope, effectually to expose and repudiate.

Let it be observed, moreover, that in giving these views of inspiration we are as far as possible from advancing novel opinions, or inclining to neology or rationalism. They are substantially, we suppose, the common, or at least the prevailing views now entertained by scholars and enlightened men of all denominations. Thus Morus, a high authority among the Orthodox, rejects the assumption that the sacred writers were inspired, *as writers*, the Bible being called divine, and ascribed to God as its author, on account of the divine origin of the doctrine and prophecies which it contains.* Pareau, also, a translation of whose work on the Old Testament is inserted

* His words are: "propter doctrinam, quæ inest, singulariter procurante Deo traditam, et propter vaticinia, divinitus accepta." Epitome Theologiæ Christianæ. Proleg. § iv. 24.

in the Biblical Cabinet, an Orthodox publication,* and who is said in the Preface of the Translator to be "a decided and uncompromising enemy to the Rationalist system," admits, nevertheless, that "no one can, with any degree of probability, affirm that all things which are contained in the Old Testament are equally divinely inspired. For example, can those things be supposed to have been revealed by God to Moses, of which he himself had been an eye-witness, or of which he had otherwise the means of being correctly informed? Or did God inspire David in those Psalms, in which he uttered imprecations against his enemies?" And in another place: "Although no one can with any probability show, or accurately define, what in each instance should be ascribed to God, and what to Moses, of the doctrines and laws which we are accustomed to call by his name; it is, however, quite sufficient to an ingenuous friend of truth, that he be convinced that Moses would never have been the teacher and legislator which we now see him to be, had not God been present with him in an extraordinary manner."† Again, we are told by Dr. Planck, in a work translated and commended by Professor Turner, of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in New York, that "no one need be alarmed if he should hear it maintained, that in our holy scriptures, as well those of the New as those of the Old Testament, passages occasionally occur, in which even our Lord and his apostles accommodate to the views of their cotemporaries, and in fact when those views are erroneous. The idea from which, whether clearly or imperfectly conceived, such alarm may originate, and in some instances has originated, namely, that the sentiment is in the highest degree unworthy of the Holy Spirit, by whom those writings were inspired, can never in a general point of view justify him, for in general it is incorrect." "It cannot, by any construction but the most unnatural, be concealed, that our sacred writers, and even Christ himself and his apostles, did occasionally direct their instructions in reference to imperfect views current in their age, and even to views not strictly correct; and as little can it be concealed, that the latter, the apostles, sometimes brought for-

* By Thomas Clark, of Edinburgh. Pareau's Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti is translated by Dr. Forbes, a Presbyterian divine.

† Principles of Interpretation of the Old Testament. Vol. I. pp. 133, 138.

ward these views as their own, which most probably they held in common with their age."*

But we need not go to the continental writers. We are willing to accept the doctrine of inspiration as set forth by Dr. Powell, and recently quoted with approbation by Professor Pusey,† whom nobody will suspect of latitudinarianism. "And this, I conceive," he remarks in his Fourth Discourse, "is what we are to understand when it is said, that the Holy Scriptures are of *divine authority*, or were given by the *inspiration of God*. He who acquires knowledge, not by the use of any natural faculty, neither by immediate perception, nor by reasoning, nor by instruction, but in some inexplicable miraculous manner, is *inspired*. He who sets down in writing the knowledge so obtained, composes an *inspired work*. There appears to be no intelligible distinction between original revelation and inspiration. And yet men seem to have entertained an obscure notion of something more; otherwise they could not have been perplexed with so many difficulties concerning the accuracy and perfection of the Scriptures. They contain some few passages which appear to have no relation to religion, and many facts which the writers certainly knew in the ordinary way. Nor does there seem any reason to expect marks of the interposition of heaven in such matters. The great truths impressed on their minds neither obliterated their former knowledge, nor made it perfect." Archbishop Whately, in his Essays on some Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul, goes so far as even to impeach the honesty, the perfect ingenuousness of those divines, who fall in with the extravagant notions of inspiration still popular among the less informed. "The belief," says he, "in the plenary inspiration of scripture, — its being properly and literally the 'Word of God,' merely uttered, or committed to writing by the sacred penmen, in the very words supernaturally dictated to them, and the consequent belief in its complete and universal infallibility, not only on religious, but also on historical and philosophical points, — these notions, which prevail among a large portion of Christians, are probably encouraged or connived at by very many of those who do not, or at least *did* not originally, in their own hearts, enter-

* Introduction to Sacred Philology and Interpretation, pp. 143, 144.

† In his Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of Rationalistic Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany, p. 81.

tain any such belief."* We may add the opinion which Professor Stuart expresses respecting the inspiration of the New Testament writers, and which holds true, *a fortiori*, of the Old. "To my own mind nothing appears more certain, than that inspiration, in any respect whatever, was not abiding and uniform with the apostles, or any of the primitive Christians. To God's only and beloved Son, and to him only, was it given to have the spirit without measure. This view of the subject," he very properly adds, "frees it from many and most formidable difficulties. It assigns to the Savior the preëminence which is fully due. It accounts for the *mistakes* and *errors* of his apostles."†

From such citations, and they might be multiplied to almost any extent, it appears that, according to views of this subject at once rational and scriptural, and now common among competent judges, the detection or admission of exceptional passages in the writings of Moses and the prophets does not have the effect to undermine their general credibility, or come necessarily into conflict with their claims to divine inspiration. There is nothing, therefore, in the belief that any or all of the writers of the Old Testament were inspired, which should hinder us from applying to their genuine works the sifting process of a sober and reverential, but exact criticism.

There is, however, another peculiarity pertaining to the Old Testament, in common with the New, as regards its *subject-matter*. It is not a history of natural occurrences alone: many of the facts which it records are professedly supernatural; and the obnoxious rule now under consideration may not be meant to be pushed any further than this; that so far as the miracles mentioned in the Jewish Scriptures are concerned, we must accept the whole or none. Such reasoners are willing to allow that a commentator would be consistent at least, who should treat the Old Testament history as we treat the histories of Herodotus and Livy; that is, discard *all* the marvels not resolvable into natural causes as alike incredible, and admit as much of what remains as we see fit. But if we begin by admitting one *bona fide* miracle, we must, they appear to think, in order to be consistent, admit them all. The ground taken, if we understand it, is, that miracles are not a proper subject of

* American Edition, p. 21.
† Commentary on the Romans, p. 79.

historical criticism; so that we have no means of making a selection.

But why, we would ask, are not miracles, when compared with one another, a proper subject of historical criticism, like other facts, whether regard be had to their intrinsic probability or improbability, or the external evidence on which they are held? Is it meant, in the first place, that one miracle, in itself considered, is just as probable, or just as improbable, as another? If so, the opinion must, we suppose, proceed on the assumption that as a miracle consists professedly in a variation from the laws of nature, nothing is left by which to judge of its relative fitness and credibility. But, without calling in question the general correctness of the popular doctrine of miracles, it is certain that such an assumption, by whomsoever entertained, argues a very defective and narrow understanding of that doctrine. Let it be that a miracle implies a departure from *the customary rules of the divine proceeding in the order of events and in the government of the world*, (which is all that is intended when men refer to what they call *the laws of nature*,) still this departure is never supposed to take place except in obedience to a higher law, — the law of the divine mind. It is not understood by any intelligent theist, that the Almighty is bound by the laws of nature, as such; but only that he chooses to conform to them, in the ordinary course of his providence, from that law of his own mind which impels him to do what is best for his creatures. Should an emergency arise, therefore, — and we should conclude beforehand, arguing on general principles alone, that such an emergency *might* arise, — in which, all things considered, it would be best for his creatures that he should deviate from his customary mode of action, it is plain that the only reason, which induces him ordinarily to observe what are called the laws of nature, must operate in this particular case to induce him to deviate from them. Still the deviation is not a lawless deviation. It can occur only when a subordinate and tributary law, if law it can be called, gives place to the higher law on which itself depends, — the law of the divine mind; to which, so far as it is known, the miracle may be referred, and by which its relative and antecedent probability or improbability, when compared with natural events or with other reputed miracles, may be judged of, and with more or less confidence determined.

Hence, in the application of the principles of the severest

historical criticism, there is no necessary inconsistency in admitting the Old Testament miracles, while we reject those of Herodotus and Livy, and this, too, supposing them to rest on equal or like external evidence; for we may see reasons for a divine interposition in the former case, which we do not see in the latter, taking away or lessening the antecedent improbability of such an event, or changing the presumption against it into one in its favor. Hence, also, it does not follow because we admit the miracles of the Old Testament, that we must, in order to be consistent, admit them without distinction, discrimination, or exception; for we may see a reason for the divine interposition in one case, which we do not see in another, or other marks of congruity or incongruity with the divine character. This would be true, even if there were no difference in the external evidence; but is there none, as a farther ground of discrimination? Who will say that a reputed miracle recorded in Judges, a book written we know not when or by whom, is supported by historical testimony as good in all respects as another recorded in the Pentateuch, the memory of which has also been kept alive from the beginning, not only by the record itself, but by enduring monuments and institutions growing out of it, or connected with it? Here, too, let it be borne in mind, in regard to all the writers of the Old Testament, that inspiration, properly so called, according to what has been shown to be the common view of it as now held by scholars and intelligent men, has nothing to do with the history of miracles, any more than with the history of natural occurrences. They speak of the miracles in their capacity as historians merely; they do but report faithfully what fell under their own observation, or was gathered from other accredited sources; leaving us to make up our judgment in each particular case on that report, according to the light given us by the record itself, by subsequent discoveries in science, or by our worthiest conceptions of the divinity.

At the same time we do not assert here, or mean to imply, that any of the miracles of the Old Testament are to be regarded as supposititious. We are willing to take it for granted, in the present argument, that all are real and genuine. We only say that each must stand or fall by its own evidence; so that, if a man, from any cause, entertains serious doubts about some of the miracles, this of itself need not hinder him from believing as consistently as ever, as firmly as ever, and as

religiously as ever in the rest, and in the divine and miraculous origin of the religion itself.

Indeed, it seems almost like a work of supererogation to set forth with so much formality a principle now conceded, we suppose, or assumed and acted on, by almost every intelligent and competent writer on the subject. Thus, to confine ourselves to those who are in favor with the Orthodox, Herder speaks as follows of one of the feats of Samson. "The story of the three hundred foxes, with the firebrands between their tails, is entirely after his manner; and the objections that have been made to it are not worthy of refutation. The foxes, or rather jackals of that country enter into houses, are easily taken, and an idle and frolicsome adventure like this would not fail to engage merry accomplices enough to carry it into effect. They had the sport. He looked to the result."* Jahn is, if possible, still more unceremonious in his disposition of the marvels told of the Hebrew Hercules. "Hence it appears," says he, "that the history of Samson is *everywhere* taken from poems in which his deeds were poetically represented, and therefore its expressions are not all to be forced to the most rigorous signification of which they are susceptible."† And the principal objection urged by his American translators against the statement is, that he makes it to be applicable to the history "everywhere." Hengstenberg himself, who on other occasions can find anything and everything in the Old Testament, even to the doctrine of the trinity, hesitates not to reduce the miracle of the standing still of the sun and moon at the command of Joshua to this: "The poet makes Joshua, in the midst of the battle near Gibeon, utter the wish, that the sun and moon may stand still; that is, in plain prose, that the sun may not go down, the day not come to an end, before the defeat of the enemy shall be completed. This wish is fulfilled; and the poet, in verse 13, narrates this, by continuing the same figure which he had begun: 'Joshua routed completely the foe, so that the day seemed to have been prolonged, and to have been equal to two.'"‡ Finally, to give one or two specimens from Milman's History of the Jews, a justly popular work, but written with great caution not to incur the suspicion of heresy or latitudina-

* Spirit of Hebrew Poetry. Translated by Dr. Marsh. Vol. II. p. 185.
† Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 242.
‡ Biblical Repository, Vol. III. p. 729.

rianism; the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt is thus given: "Lingering behind she was suffocated by the sulphureous vapors, and her body incrusted with the saline particles which filled the atmosphere." He also observes of the manner with which the Israelites were miraculously fed in the desert: "This is now clearly ascertained by Seetzen and Burckhardt to be a natural production; it distils from the thorns of the tamarisk, in the month of June."*

Only one topic remains; — the dependence of our belief in Christianity on our belief in Judaism, and how far and in what way our confidence in the truth and accuracy of the New Testament is likely to be affected by the freedom and latitude of interpretation, which have prevailed of late in regard to the Old. How far, in other words, does the manner in which the Old Testament is appealed to or assumed in the New, make it necessary for us, as Christians, to believe the whole or none?

It has ever been the policy of infidels to assail the New Testament through the Old, making the former responsible for everything which the latter contains. In repelling these attacks some have inclined to the opposite and, as it seems to us, equally untenable extreme of denying that any necessary connexion subsists between the two dispensations. The Jewish scriptures, they tell us, may be a fable throughout, and yet the Christian scriptures be true, all that is said about the former in the latter being resolvable into the convenient doctrine of accommodation to Jewish prejudices. But the principle of accommodation, carried to the extent to which, on this supposition, it must have been carried by Jesus and his apostles, is hardly reconcilable either with their honesty or their dishonesty. It is not easily reconciled, we must think, with their honesty; at least if veracity and fair dealing make part of honesty, or if it be true, as these very writers say, that the damnation of those who do evil that good may come is just. And the difficulty of reconciling it with their dishonesty is about as great; for if, with a view to selfish or sinister ends, they had begun by artfully accommodating themselves to the national *hope* of a Messiah, they would have gone further still, and accommodated themselves to the national *idea* of the Messiah, as the only way in which the measure, considered as a stroke of policy, could be turned to any account.

* History of the Jews, Vol. II. pp. 15, 76.

The difficulty and perplexity on this point are sufficiently cleared up by making two obvious distinctions. In the first place, though the truth and divine origin of Judaism seem to be involved in Christianity, considered historically, and are beyond question assumed in the New Testament, it is nevertheless certain that the *proof* of Christianity does not depend in any way, or in any degree, on the proof of Judaism. "Though the new Covenant itself," observes Bishop Marsh in reference to his own method, "is founded on the old Covenant, the truth of the *record*, which conveys the new Covenant, was not founded on the truth of the record, which conveys the old Covenant. Both the authenticity and the credibility of the New Testament were established by arguments, which are wholly independent of the Old Testament."* The distinction, here so clearly marked, is of great importance, because it shows that, while Christianity itself may be said in some sense to be built on Judaism, our *belief* of Christianity is not built on the belief of Judaism; on the contrary, with us, the belief of Judaism is built on the belief of Christianity. We do not believe in the New Testament because we believe in the Old; but we believe in the Old Testament, so far at least as all supernatural interpositions are concerned, because we believe in the New. Accordingly most of the difficulties raised respecting the literary history of the Old Testament, its genuineness and authenticity included, have nothing to do with our belief in the divine and supernatural origin of Christianity, or even of Judaism itself. Take, for example, the much vexed question respecting the authorship of the Pentateuch: our principal reason for presuming on the general fidelity of the record is not found in the opinion, well or ill sustained, in a purely literary or critical point of view, that Moses wrote it, or the substance of it, with his own hand; but in the fact that it is repeatedly appealed to as authority by Jesus and his apostles, whose competency to judge in this matter is established from independent sources of evidence. In short, we possess so little real knowledge derived from other quarters respecting the Hebrew canon, that our faith in the Old Testament, and even in Judaism itself considered as a divine dispensation, may almost be said to be a mere deduction from the Christian scrip-

* Course of Lectures, containing a Description and Systematic Arrangement of the Several Branches of Divinity. Part VII. Lecture XXXI. p. 2.

tures. Hardly any doctrine, therefore, in regard to the Old Testament, or any part thereof, can be promulgated or admitted, which ought in reason to shake our confidence in Christianity; as at the worst it can but amount to this, — not that we have been wrong in our argument for Christianity, but only in one or more of our inferences from it.

The other distinction to be recognised and applied is the one hinted at above; namely, that we are never to confound the record of a religion with the religion itself. To us, we confess, it seems incontestable that the divine origin of Judaism is everywhere assumed or implied in the teachings of Jesus and his apostles; but the divine origin of Judaism is one thing, and the divine origin of its records, in every fragment and statement, even supposing them to be authentic, genuine, and credible, is quite another. Nobody, who uses language understandingly, will affirm that the latter is assumed or implied in the general idea of the Christian system, or in the general strain of its inculcations; and it is equally certain that it is nowhere expressly asserted in the New Testament. We are told, it is true, that "the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."* This passage, however, whatever construction may be put upon it in other respects, refers exclusively to the prophets, and to them as regards their prophetic illumination. Again it is said, reference being had to the Old Testament, "All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness."† But here we are warned by the Italics that the substantive verb is supplied by the translators, the original reading, "All scripture, given by inspiration," or "Every inspired scripture [or writing] is also profitable," &c. The connexion also shows that the reference is to the prophetic scriptures only, and to these in their character as prophetic of the "salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." Besides, giving the statement its broadest possible application, we have seen above, that inspiration never involved, and never was understood by the sacred writers to involve infallibility or omniscience.‡ That the reading of the Old Testament is still

* 2 Peter, i. 21. † 2 Timothy, iii. 16.

‡ Archbishop Newcome, in his note on this passage, says: "Some render, All Scripture, given by inspiration of God, is profitable, &c.

"profitable" in many respects, is not doubted; but when particular passages are adduced as of ultimate authority and obligation among Christians, or when Christianity is made in any sense responsible for their correctness, it seems to be forgotten that our Lord has taught us expressly, that many things were said "to them of old time," which are not to be approved; that Moses connived at some acknowledged and flagrant abuses on account of "the hardness of their hearts;" and that according to the uniform doctrine of the New Testament, "the law made nothing perfect," but is only to be regarded as preparatory to "the bringing in of a better hope," which, when fully carried out, will make everything so.

So Syr., the three Arabic versions, Vulg., Grotius, the English Bible of 1549, &c. Thus it is not defined what scripture was divinely inspired." So Pyle: "'All writings that are of divine inspiration are profitable,' &c. One old Manuscript, with the Vulgar, Arab., and Syr. Versions, as also some fathers in their quotations of this passage, leave out the *καὶ*. I make no question, but 'the Scriptures by inspiration of God' have a particular reference to the prophecies concerning Christ and his kingdom, and the apostacy from it." The Editors of Goadby's Bible, 5th edition, say, in commenting on this verse, "It is to be noted that our translators here supplied the verb *is*, which greatly alters the sense; and when that happens to be the case, no word ought by any means to be supplied; for the greatest errors may be built upon the scriptures by this means. The true rendering of the words here is, 'All scripture given by inspiration of God, (or divine inspired,) is profitable for doctrine,' &c. For this word *and* is not found in the Manuscript called *Barb.* I., nor in Clemens of Alexandria, nor in the Vulgar, Syriac, and Arabic versions, nor in Ambrose; nor in the Scholiast, which goes under the name of Jerome; nor in Theodorus Mopsuensis, nor in Palagius and others. And it is the opinion of learned men, that *and* was put into the text by some translator. It is a very different thing, whether we understand Paul to say, 'All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God, and *is* profitable for doctrine,' &c.; or, 'All scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable,' &c." After observing that all *such* scripture is indeed profitable for instruction, they deny nevertheless that the text was intended to apply to the Jewish Scriptures generally. "And it appears plain enough," they add, "that under the general title of the Scriptures of the Old Testament are included some books which there is no reason to conclude were 'given by the inspiration of God.'" Grotius, also, *in loc.*, after sanctioning the literal rendering given above, goes on: "That scripture is called *divinely inspired*, which was written either by those who held the offices of prophets, as Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or by those who, although in different situations in life, were at certain times under a divine influence, as David and Daniel. To these were added some other books, either to fill up the history or the moral precepts, which

We have not been drawn into this discussion by the peculiarly bold and hazardous character of Dr. Palfrey's speculations; on the contrary, his Lectures are remarkable, in general, for their cautious and conservative tone and spirit, and for the learning and ingenuity with which many of the common and traditional opinions are sustained. But he advances some positions, which may strike general readers as novel, and they may be alarmed at their supposed tendency. For this reason we would do what we can to disabuse their minds of the error, on which such alarm is founded, and fortify them against the attempts of those who affect this alarm without feeling it, that they may create against the book, or its author, or the denomination to which he belongs, a groundless prejudice. Nor is this all. It is not to be denied or concealed, that the injudicious and mistaken friends of the Bible have insisted on the principle, "the whole or none," until they have tempted no small proportion of the enlightened part of the community, so far at least as the miracles of the Old Testament are concerned, to incline towards the latter alternative. We would do what we can to stay the further mischiefs of a doctrine, the evils of which must be more and more felt, as knowledge and a spirit of inquiry are diffused. At the same time we are not conscious that the difficulties in the Old Testament are, on any theory, either so numerous, or so formidable, as many seem to suppose. Most of the popular objections are obviously founded, as has been said, in popular ignorance or mistake, which Dr. Palfrey's work will doubtless do not a little to remove. Besides, allow, after all is said and done, that some of these difficulties still remain; it does not

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were approved by the Great Synagogue, as best agreeing with those that were divinely inspired." Rosenmüller concurs, likewise, in the same rendering. As further evidence that the apostle did not refer, in this place, to the Jewish scriptures generally, we may add a remark of Bishop Barrington, given in Bowyer's Appendix. "The writers of the New Testament always distinguish between γραφη and γραφαι [scripture and scriptures]. The former signifies *some portion* of scripture, the latter the scripture in general. 'Every portion of scripture,' says the apostle, 'inspired by God, is profitable,' &c." Wakefield translates the passage thus: "Every writing, inspired by God, is useful for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." It is remarkable that the three earliest English versions from the original, (Tyndale's, Coverdale's, and Matthew's,) agree in the rendering we have adopted. The Genevan was the first to say, "All scripture *is* given by inspiration of God."

follow that they are in their own nature insuperable, but only that we cannot see how they can be got over. Perhaps a single and apparently unimportant fact has fallen out of the history of the world, which, could it be recovered, would make all things plain. At any rate, we feel that the question is not a vital one in a religious point of view; for come to what conclusion we may, we know that it does not and cannot touch the foundations of the Christian faith. Nevertheless the Old Testament, parts of it especially, may still be read with great advantage for its moral and devotional uses, so long as it is read in that spirit of reverence and intimate consciousness of the Deity, which its own pages breathe. Only one thing should be borne in mind, which cannot be better expressed than in the words of Milman: "In the works of writers hostile to revelation, the author has seen many objections, embarrassing to those who take up a narrow system of interpreting the Hebrew writings; to those who adopt a more rational latitude of exposition, none." *

We must, before concluding, give a specimen or two of the manner in which these writings are interpreted by Dr. Palfrey, and of the opinions entertained by him respecting the truth and authority of the record. The following is assigned, among other reasons, for believing in the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch:

"An argument, which strikes me as of great weight, but which is only to be set forth in an examination of the details, as we proceed, is that furnished by the arrangement of the materials. The work is written, for the most part, *in the manner of a journal*, as Moses would be extremely likely to write, but as an author composing in a later age would not be. Such an author would record the laws in one form, as he found them existing in the shape, which, after any modifications, they had taken, or as he would have them to exist. The Pentateuch not only, in connexion with laws, records the occasions which respectively gave rise to them; but, in later passages, it repeals laws prescribed in earlier, or changes, or abrogates them, a course in which it is not easily conceivable that any one should proceed, who did not live at the time of their enactment, repeal, or change. Of the same class is an argument, which may be drawn from such passages as that, for instance, near the end of Exodus, relating to the construction of the tabernacle. In what manner should we expect a writer to speak of that edifice, who lived after its

* Preface to the second edition of his History of the Jews.

construction? Should we entertain any doubt, that he would confine himself to describing its general arrangement and effect? But the manner in which it is treated in the passage, to which I refer, is of a very different character. In the first place, the most minute directions are given as to the manner of its construction, as one would give an order to mechanics respecting a work for which great solicitude was felt; and then, with the same particularity of detail, it is related how those orders were executed. I am at a loss to point to any principle in human nature, which will help us to account for such a composition, proceeding from any other person than one so situated as Moses is related to have been." * — pp. 86, 87.

Again, he says:

"I apprehend, that when a law is announced, prefaced by such words as 'the Lord spake unto Moses,' it is by no means necessary to understand the arrangement to have been originated (so to speak) in the Divine Mind, and then dictated to the Jewish leader, to be by him promulgated. In my view, the force of the language is equally well met, if we understand, when other considerations would incline us so to do, that the plan was a plan of Moses, who, by being encouraged to act on this kind of responsibility, would be in all respects better qualified for his office as leader of the people; that, having been devised by him, it was submitted for the divine approval; and that (this approval obtained) it was announced, in such words as I have quoted, as resting on the divine authority.

"This view of the force of those prefatory words is fully borne out by a comparison of two passages in the Pentateuch. In the book of Numbers we read, without any qualification, 'And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, "Send thou men that they may search the land of Canaan."' Arguing from these words, as is commonly done when they occur in other places, we should understand the arrangement to have been dictated in

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"* The justness of the remark here made may be tested by a comparison with what is actually said on the subject in question by Josephus. Respecting the laws, that writer says, (Antiq., lib. 4, cap. 8, § 4,) 'All things are written [by me] as he left them; nothing being added for the sake of ornament, nor which Moses did not leave. But I have made the innovation of *arranging everything agreeably to its subject.* For by him the things written were left without arrangement, just as he had obtained them severally from God.' In another place (lib. 3, cap. 6), Josephus describes the tabernacle; and the description which he gives is precisely of that kind, which, as above intimated, might be expected from a writer of any age subsequent to that of its erection."

the first instance by God to Moses. But, where the same incident is related in Deuteronomy, we find quite a different aspect put upon it. There we see Moses represented as saying to the people; 'Ye came near unto me every one of you and said, "We will send men before us, and they shall search out the land"; — and the saying pleased me well, and I took twelve men of you, one of a tribe.' There is no discrepance between the two statements. The people proposed the measure to Moses. He waited for leave to execute it; and when such authority had been given, then he properly announced to the people, 'The Lord said unto Moses, send men,' &c. If such, by a subsequent explanation, is shown to have been the case, on an occasion where the words, taken alone, are naturally supposed to indicate that the arrangement was first communicated by God to Moses, there is no good reason to doubt that such was the process in other instances, where no similar explanation has made it known to us.

"An incident leading to the same conclusion occurs in a later part of the passage, which is the subject of this lecture.* An arrangement, of the most important character, relating to the people's social condition, is declared to have been made by Moses at the original suggestion of Jethro, his father-in-law; an arrangement amounting to no less, than the separation (in great part) of the office of judging from that of legislation, except in cases of appeals. Jethro, finding Moses too much burdened by the cares of administration, advises him to commit questions of minor concern to the discretion of inferior magistrates selected by him for the purpose, reserving only the more weighty matters for his personal cognizance. And it is remarkable that Jethro adds, 'If thou shalt do this thing, and *God command thee so*, then thou shalt be able to endure.' The implication is, that, though a suggestion of his own, it might and must become a divine command, before it could be carried into execution.

"We have here then specific cases, in which measures, spoken of as adopted under divine direction, appear, on further observation, to have had their original source in human sagacity. The principle of interpretation, thus ascertained, is of obvious importance. When we read, 'The Lord said unto Moses, "Establish and promulgate such or such a law,"' if that law appears to us trivial, or not thoroughly well devised to meet its end, — if we find even that it actually requires afterwards, on experiment, to be qualified, or extended, or repealed, — we are not debarred from supposing, that it had its origin in

* Ex. xviii. 13 – 26.

the imperfect wisdom of Moses, and that he was but permitted to adopt it in order that he might perceive its imperfections, and learn the political wisdom, which his station demanded, in seeing what defects it had failed to supply, and how a better measure was to be devised." — pp. 145 – 148.

The celebrated prediction in Deuteronomy xviii. 15 – 19 is supposed, in the work before us, to refer to the coming of the Messiah. We give the passage, without comment.

"After urging those admonitions against the pretended arts of enchantment, divination, and the like, which came under our notice in connexion with the subject of idolatry, he goes on to speak, if I interpret him correctly, of that future revelation (possessed by us in Christianity), destined to consummate the work of a moral renovation of the world, of which only the first step had been taken by his own labors. Having cautioned the people against the impostures of those foreigners, whose pretensions to intercourse with the spiritual world were connected with the falsehoods and follies of heathen belief and practice, I understand him as proceeding to give the assurance, (which the connexion naturally prompted,) that God would take care, that whatever communications of a supernatural character it was best they should have, should, in his own good time, be conveyed to them through one of their own number, as those already received by them had been; and that, in fact, God had made known to him, at the time of the first promulgation of the Law, that such was his purpose. 'I will raise them up,' he had said, 'a prophet from among their brethren *like unto thee*, and will put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him.' — I am aware to what an extent this language of Moses has been understood as a reference, not to the founder of the future, better dispensation in particular, but to the line of teachers to be raised up, from time to time, in the Jewish Church. But I find no argument for this departure from the most obvious exposition, except the supposed improbability, that an event so far distant, as we know the Messiah's coming to have been, would be referred to in this connexion; an argument to which I cannot ascribe any force, inasmuch as it appears to me altogether natural for Moses to bid the Israelites await God's time for making further disclosures, whatever that time might be, instead of seeking them at forbidden sources. And, on the other hand, persuaded as I am, that Moses was the subject of supernatural illumination, I am more than prepared to believe, that he was informed of the character of his Law, as being (what we know it to have been) a preparatory dispensation; and

that he received that information (as he seems to declare) at the time when he received the Law itself. And, when I consider the extreme difficulty of applying to any person, or succession of persons, in the Jewish history, antecedent to the time of Jesus, the description of being *like unto Moses*, whose great distinction was, that he was the founder of a new religious system, supernaturally communicated to his own mind, and sustained by miraculous exhibitions of which he was the instrument; and when I remember how explicitly our Lord says of Moses, in a distinct reference to the evidences of his own claims, 'He wrote of me,' and observe, in the New Testament records, authoritative references to this passage, to which I can attach no other satisfactory meaning, — I do not hesitate to regard Moses as here predicting the mission of the finisher of his own incomplete work, the advent of JESUS CHRIST, THE SAVIOR OF THE WORLD."* — pp. 463 - 465.

"* Deut. xviii. 15 - 22; compare John v. 46. — Whoever was the writer of the last verses of this book (xxxiv. 10 - 12), I cannot but think, that he looked upon the resemblance of the promised prophet to Moses, in the light in which I have above described it, when intimating the expectation, which, ever since their first leader's death, the nation had entertained, but which hitherto they had cherished only to be disappointed, he says, that 'there arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses.' On the other hand, I cannot but regard the first martyr, Stephen, as distinctly implying (Acts vii. 37), and the apostle Peter as declaring, that, after the ages of delay, the prophet, promised by the lawgiver, at length had come. 'Moses truly,' are Peter's words, 'said unto the fathers, "A prophet *shall* the Lord your God *raise up* unto you of your brethren, like unto me" . . . . . "Unto you first, God, *having raised up* his son Jesus"' &c. (Acts iii. 22 - 26). — 'The Lord thy God shall raise up unto thee a prophet,' said Moses, '*unto him ye shall hearken*' (15); and, when the prophet came, it was to these words, I conceive, that the remarkable attestation to him, by a miraculous voice, referred, when, on the mountain of transfiguration, the august form of the old lawgiver was revealed in communion with him; 'This *is* my beloved son, *hear ye him*' (Matt. xvii. 5; Mark ix. 7; Luke ix. 35). — The fact, which Moses communicates in 16 - 18, viz., that, at the time when the people prayed, that God would not appear to them in such terrific majesty, he had replied, that so it should be, and that whatever he should have to reveal, he would reveal through Moses, and, later, through a prophet like him, is not related in the parallel passage. (Compare Ex. xx. 18 - 22.) — False pretenders to the character of this prophet, should they present themselves, were to be detected (Deut. xviii. 21, 22) by their failure to give supernatural evidence of a supernatural commission; and they, as well as those who attempted to seduce the people to the worship of other deities, were to be put to death. (Compare xiii. 1 - 5.) It was under this law, I suppose, that the

It has been objected to Dr. Palfrey, that he has gone too far for some, and not far enough for others. This, we suppose, taken to the letter, must be true of every writer on the subject. But if it is meant, that, in order to meet and satisfy the conscious want of the great majority of intelligent readers, it was necessary for him to adopt an essentially different principle of interpretation, — that is, either to sustain in every particular the literal or the traditional construction, or else carry his rejection of it to the same extent with Geddes and the German Rationalists, — we are by no means prepared to concur in the justness of the criticism. Furthermore it is objected, that the Lectures do not manifest that familiarity with the modern literature of biblical interpretation which was to be desired and expected. It may be so. Without being dazzled by excessive admiration of the wisdom or the learning of the modern continental school of critics, and as little disposed as most persons to rate very highly that show of erudition, which consists in incumbering one's pages with quotations and references, we still think that more should have been done to make us acquainted with the history and present state of the discussion on many of the moot points here brought under review. We think, too, that the Notes, which are intended to supply to a certain extent the defect just mentioned, and also to go further into the more learned and recondite disquisitions, bear marks of hurried preparation, and of consequent inexactness and confusion. The work has doubtless suffered in this respect, as well as in others, from the fact that the body of it was prepared for the lecture-room; its publication being an after-thought. Still in its present form it is a valuable and opportune contribution to the theological literature of the country, and when completed will take precedence, we doubt not, of every other general treatise on the subject, in English, which has as yet appeared.

J. W.

Jews proposed to proceed with Jesus, as related in John xix. 7. If so, we have here an additional indication, that the nation understood these words of their Messiah."

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

1. *A Complete Hebrew and English critical and pronouncing Dictionary on a new and improved Plan, containing all the Words in the Holy Bible, both Hebrew and Chaldee, with the Vowel Points, Prefixes and Affixes, as they stand in the Original Text: together with their Derivation, literal and etymological Meaning, as it occurs in every part of the Bible, and illustrated by numerous Citations from the Targums, Talmud, and Cognate Dialects.* By W. L. Roy, Professor of Oriental Languages in New York. 8vo. pp. 740. N. York. 1837. — 2. *A Defence of Roy's Hebrew Dictionary against a Review of it by Moses Stuart of Andover, published in the North American Review, for April,* 1838. 8vo. pp. 12. — It sometimes happens that reviewers are obliged to spend much time and patience — both their own and their readers'—on works that are intrinsically worthless, but which are ushered into the world with such flourishing of trumpets, and are accompanied by the names of so many god-parents, that it becomes necessary to bestow a degree of attention upon the production quite disproportionate to its real merits. In such case the common rule, that "what is much spoken against is not much despised," is suspended. The book named at the head of this notice belongs to this class. It professes to come from the "Professor of Oriental Languages in New York." It is dedicated to eight D. D.'s, one of them the Chancellor of the New York University; one a Bishop; another the President of a college! It is recommended by eleven A. M.'s, ten D. D.'s, by "the Rabbi of the Synagogue at New York," and by the "Chief Rabbi of the City of Jerusalem": not to mention the testimony of the "Evening Star," the "Millennial Harbinger," and the famous Joseph Wolff. Surely if there is any merit in great names, or any virtue in commendatory notices, this work must speedily supersede all others.

Two of our most respectable journals have already favored the public with long, elaborate, and highly valuable articles on this work;* one from the pen of Professor Stuart, the other from that of Mr. Nordheimer. Our notice, therefore, shall be brief.

In the Introduction to the Dictionary, the author tells us that all other Hebrew Lexicons are imperfect, defining only the roots of words, — or full of "peculiar and absurd notions." The latter is the fault of Gesenius's Lexicon, which, he adds, "does not contain half the words in the Hebrew language." There is,

* See the April Numbers of the North American Review and the Biblical Repository.

he says, as yet, no "competent Hebrew and English Lexicon." Mr. Roy certainly calculates too much on the ignorance of his readers. There are at least two Hebrew and English Lexicons well known in this community, which are far more perfect and correct than this.

Mr. Roy enumerates sixteen particulars in which his work is superior to all its predecessors. We shall briefly notice the most striking of them, giving a running commentary as we proceed. Its "definitions are more accurate." We need only consult a few passages to which he refers to see that this is not the case. "The words are placed in alphabetical order." So they are in the Lexicons of Gesenius and Gibbs. "The affixes are placed in the same passage with the words." A similar improvement would be effected in our own dictionaries, if under the word "wit" should be added "my wit," "thy wit," and so on, affixing all the personal pronouns and prepositions. A "huge advantage" truly. "The meaning of each word is given as it occurs in every part of the Bible." This is true of but very few words. Reference is made to the Targums, and "several quotations have been introduced from the Talmuds which *have never before been published.*" In a *Lexicon*, we suppose; or has the author a new Talmud in manuscript? Perhaps, however, it is from the library of the "Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem," with the autograph Manuscript of Ezra. "Some of them (these quotations from the Talmuds) referring to the life, miracles, and crucifixion of our Savior." This is certainly new in a critical and pronouncing Dictionary of the Hebrew language. The author points out three passages where this "his own peculiar" light shines. In one of them, the most important truth which he extracted from these "excellent auxiliaries," is that "the Kabbala contains six hundred and thirty names of the Deity." In the next, the Talmud, he tells us, calls Jesus a "seducer," states that "he was crucified in the evening of the *Pesach*, [Passover]," and gives a foolish story from the Talmud relating to his trial. The last contains a conversation between an Egyptian Prince and Alexander the Great, which the English reader will find in Smith's translation of Michaelis's Commentaries on the Laws of Moses. "Many disputed passages are accurately translated." This may be true, but we can find no instance in the articles to which he refers. "The book will serve as a concordance." But it will *not*, in one case out of ten, if we read aright. "The spiritual meaning is given." The following will serve as examples. בֵּן (Son), the Messiah. אַרְיֵה (a *Lion*), and כֶּלֶב (a *Dog*), mean the *Devil* in the spiritual sense.

But to estimate the book fairly, we must examine it from the most favorable point of view; for the author truly observes, "it is more easy to find fault with a literary work of this kind than to compose it." Now one of his eulogizers, who says the student will derive more advantage from this Lexicon than from any other extant, "that it contains passages from the Talmuds and other Rabbinical works, which are not only useful, but even *essential* in refuting certain objections to the Christian religion," states that Mr. Roy's "labors upon *two* words are worth more [to the student!] than the entire price of his Lexicon." Now these two words, נִשָּׂא and שְׂטָן, are the very articles we referred to above as containing nothing but follies of the Rabbins, which were well known before.

A few words will suffice for the "Defence of Roy's Dictionary." It was said of the Dictionary, that "human impudence could go no further"; but it *has* gone further in the "Defence." The defender wishes to rebut the charges of Professor Stuart, but does not succeed in a single instance. Nay, he never fairly meets a single charge, but replies upon some quite immaterial point. He contents himself, for the most part, with accusing Professor Stuart, again and again, of stealing his Hebrew Grammar from Gesenius. Even if this charge were true, it is nothing to the point; for the question is, whether the Reviewer has spoken the truth respecting the Dictionary, or not. The defender often, designedly, as it appears, misrepresents the statements of the reviewer, and his general unfairness in other respects is at once obvious. We will conclude as we began by adverting to the important matter of the recommendations. Professor Stuart had asked "the impertinent question," as the defender calls it, why Mr. Roy did not procure the recommendations of Messrs. Bush, Turner, Robinson, and Nordheimer, who are well known as oriental scholars, in the city where the Lexicon was published. He replies that "Dr. Robinson was in Boston at the time the specimen sheet was issued." "Professor Bush was the intimate friend of Dr. Robinson"! Mr. Turner was fearful "it would make the study of Hebrew too common among the lower classes"!

Ministry at Large in Boston. By JOSEPH TUCKERMAN. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 327.—A discussion of the subject of this book was intended for our present Number, which unavoidable circumstances postpone to the next. Meanwhile we would call the public attention to so sincere and affectionate an exposition, by one who is the originator of the work he describes. There must be truth at least when a man gives

the literature of his own labors. And the facts and views presented should thrill the heart and rouse the effort of this community. No longer can we justify hardness because of the doubtful benefit of charitable bestowments. The ministry at large has proved a true alchemy for transmuting the riches of earth into the treasures of Heaven. No longer can we excuse our spiritual indolence, when so many among us are crying for the bread of life. We hope this book will be widely read, and the Author have the satisfaction of seeing that he has not labored in vain.

A Letter to the Presbytery of Wilmington. By J. MILLER M'KIM. Philadelphia. 1838. 12mo. pp. 39. — The object of this letter is to inform the Presbytery having jurisdiction over the writer, that his views of Christian doctrine have of late undergone such changes, as make it improper for him any longer to profess adherence to the standards of the Presbyterian church. The New School Party, to which he belonged, may well feel distrust of the old leaven of orthodoxy still mingled and still fermenting in their half-philosophical half-traditional expositions, when they see that it has had the effect to drive away a seeker after the truth so honest, modest, and clear-sighted. It is also remarkable that he finds his principal ground of dissent from Calvinism in that very doctrine which is held up, strangely enough, by most advocates of the system as its chief attraction and glory; — we mean, the doctrine of a *vicarious atonement.* But it would be doing injustice to our readers, as well as to Mr. M'Kim, not to give the history of his conversion to a more scriptural faith in his own words.

"I was educated from my infancy, as some of you know, under the auspices of the Presbyterian church. It was not, however, until about seven years since, that I felt sufficient interest in the subject of religion, as a matter of personal importance, formally to attach myself to a particular branch of it, as a regular member. About that time I united myself with the Presbyterian church of Carlisle; and about the same time believing it to be my duty to devote myself to the work of the ministry, I commenced a course of studies with that work in view, under the direction of my friend and pastor, Mr. George Duffield. As was to be expected, I adopted the doctrinal tenets of the church in which I had been reared, and with which alone I had any acquaintance. This I did the more readily, as I was accustomed, situated where I was, to the most liberal construction of these tenets. Mr. Duffield, I need not tell you, is a practical preacher, and at the same time a man of very philosophical mind; in his exhibitions of truth, therefore, public and private, the doctrines of Calvin were divested of much of their ancient severity, and presented in such a modified and modernized form as to make them appear rational and easy to be received. For several

years after I commenced my theological studies, nothing occurred to induce me to call in question the truth of any of these doctrines. On the contrary, all my reading, and all the preaching I heard, and the private instructions to which I listened, were of such a character as to confirm my belief of their correctness, and to assure me that those who rejected any of them were guilty of 'damnable and soul-ruining heresies.'

"In the course of my theological preparation, however, it so happened that circumstances, which I need not here mention, threw me into the society of persons of different denominations who were entire unbelievers in the peculiar doctrines of orthodoxy. Some of these were of a class which I had been accustomed to regard as heretics of the most pestiferous kind. Opportunities were afforded me of becoming acquainted with their moral character and governing principles. I found that the morals of many of them were of the purest and most irreproachable kind, and that they were under the practical influence of the most elevated religious sentiment. I was satisfied that in their actions, and in the feelings they manifested, these persons, whom I had been taught to regard as heretics, gave evidence of regeneration as unequivocal as I had ever seen manifested by the most orthodox — notwithstanding, they intelligently and deliberately denied the doctrine of a *vicarious atonement*. These things I found hard to reconcile. I conversed with them, and heard the reasons of their belief. My faith in my previous doctrinal views was shaken. My mind was put upon inquiry. I read, and thought, and sought for light upon the subject, with intense interest. For months my mind was in a continuous conflict. At times, I was so far satisfied of the fallacy of my former views, as to be on the point of announcing my unbelief. But a thought of the consequences of such a step would appal and deter me. I was in the midst of a community in which there was not one, to my knowledge, that would be likely to sympathize with me. Any intimations I had given of skepticism on these points were received with apparent horror by my acquaintances. I felt that if I yielded to the impulse of my temporary convictions, I should be cut off from Christian fellowship, my name would be cast out as evil, my opportunities of usefulness perhaps destroyed, and my fair prospects all blasted. I began to distrust my own judgment; and felt disposed to yield to the opinion of men, whom I deemed wiser and better than myself. I heard and read again on the side of orthodoxy. No longer submitting to the decisions of reason alone, as I had previously been disposed to do, I directed my attention more especially to the testimony of the Scriptures. This I collated with some care, and on the principles of interpretation, by which I was *then* governed, my conclusion was, that the doctrine of a vicarious atonement was scriptural, and, as a consequence, that I was bound to retain it. My mind was now sufficiently satisfied to be at rest; and I had nothing more to do but to reconcile as well as I could this doctrine with the dictates of reason. This, although I honestly believed in its truth, I was never able to do to my own satisfaction.

"Soon after this, I presented myself to the Presbytery of Carlisle as a candidate for licensure. It was at a time when party feeling ran high between the Old and New School, as the two divisions were designated. I was of the latter party, which in that Presbytery was greatly in the minor-

ity. Of course (as it has since appeared to me) my application for licensure was refused. The ostensible grounds of this refusal, was 'unsoundness in the faith;' and the proof of my 'unsoundness' was, that I taught that the regeneration of a sinner was *wholly a moral change;* that although produced by the Spirit, it was, notwithstanding, always *through the medium of truth.* This and all other doctrines which I held, I regarded as perfectly consistent with my profession of adherence to the Westminster confession of faith, as containing a system of the doctrines taught in the Scriptures.

"After being thus refused, my next step was to retire from the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of Carlisle, and put myself under the care of your body. This I did; and I shall not soon forget the cordial and Christian spirit with which you received me, nor the kindness and friendly feeling you have ever since manifested towards me. Under your care I went through my preparatory exercises *de novo*, and in due time was licensed to preach; and after the lapse of some further time, when called to the charge of a congregation, as a stated 'supply,' was 'regularly ordained' by you as a minister of the gospel.

"I continued in my pastoral charge for about one year. During that time objections to the correctness of some of my views would frequently present themselves; these I made it a point to waive, however, feeling strong reluctance to go regularly into their examination. Particularly was I reluctant to grapple with the objections, my mind was ever and anon suggesting, to the popular doctrine of atonement; and I was never quite satisfied that my logic, when discussing this subject and attempting to dispose of these difficulties, was perfectly free from flaws. I always on such occasions found my task a hard one: still I was inclined to attribute this difficulty to defectiveness of my own mind, rather than unsoundness of the doctrine.

"At the expiration of the year before mentioned, believing that I might thereby better subserve the interests of humanity, and the cause of true religion, I accepted the appointment of agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The duties of this office obliged me to travel and mix extensively among persons of various shades of religious belief. My mind was again put upon inquiry — my former doubts and difficulties returned with redoubled force. Yielding to their suggestions, I was soon so far convinced of the untenableness of some of my former opinions, especially those which related to the doctrine of atonement, that I could not, when called upon to preach, feel free to inculcate the orthodox view of that subject. Feeling, however, the importance of not moving hastily, and believing that my difficulties might be removed by a further examination, I determined not to announce my skepticism until my mind was fully made up. In the mean time, when called upon to preach the word, I confined myself to subjects strictly practical — subjects on which my own mind was clear, and in which all could fully unite: this course I have pursued up to this time; but I feel under obligation now to change my ground — my mind is made up. After nearly two years' anxious thought and earnest inquiry, *I am fully satisfied that the popular doctrine of a vicarious atonement is a doctrine of human invention, and does not properly belong to the Christian religion.*"— pp. 4–9.

He is aware of the averted looks, the obloquy, and the ecclesiastical censures "a heretic" is likely to incur, all which he

hopes to be able to bear with becoming firmness, supported by an approving judgment and a conscience void of offence. Only one favor he asks; namely, that the reasons which have influenced and determined his conduct, and which are afterwards given, should be calmly read and seriously pondered by his judges.

Jesus and his Biographers. — Under this title a new edition of Mr. Furness's "Remarks on the Four Gospels" will soon appear. We copy from the Preface an account of the material alterations which the work has undergone.

"This volume varies from the 'Remarks on the Four Gospels' by the omission of two chapters of that work and the addition of eight. The subject of the Miracles is discussed anew; not that the former discussion is supposed to contain any material error, but because it appears less satisfactory and more liable to be misapprehended than that contained in the present work, and also because, since the publication of the Remarks, I have been aided by the criticisms of some whom I greatly respect, in giving, as I think, a better exposition of my views. Other omissions, and additions to a considerable extent have been made, (it is unnecessary to specify them,) by which the present becomes a new work rather than a new edition of the former one: and the adoption of another title is justified. It now makes some approach, very distant indeed, to a life of our Savior, and might perhaps be entitled, 'Hints toward a life of Jesus.'

"The additional matter contained in this volume might well, in regard to quantity, have been published separately. But, such is its character, I am unwilling to let it go forth, except in connexion with the former work, lest it should be thought that I aim to pull down when I am striving to build up, to explain away when I would reveal and establish the truth; a misconstruction so erroneous and unjust, that I would take all pains to guard against it, and one to which it is my hope that the reader, however he may dissent from me in particular instances, will not now be liable.

"Still to the purchasers of the former volume an apology is due for superseding it, as the present work does; an apology which it might not be easy to find, were pecuniary considerations the chief concern with them or with the writer. As it is, he seeks his justification for the manner in which he has published what he feels to be valuable truth, in the exceeding greatness of the theme, which must cause treatises, far more elaborate than any he has attempted, to be considered but as steps in the progress towards clearer and still clearer light."

Passages in Foreign Travel. By Isaac Appleton Jewett. In two volumes. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 1838. 12mo. pp. 319, 369. — Sprightly, graphic, always entertaining, often instructive, are these records of our countryman's travels in Europe. He does not give us a regular account of what he saw, and what he did, and whence and whither he went,

from day to day, but passages only, select portions of his journal, such as suited his own fancy, and as he thought would suit ours. He is not anxious that we should toil with him through all his marches, but when he finds a particularly pleasant spot, he sits down, and very agreeably directs our attention to the prominent points of the prospect, and descants by the summer hour on topics which they suggest to him. He has a ready eye to perceive what is peculiar to Europe, and wherein her ways differ from ours, and a candid judgment to make all due allowances on both sides. His taste is discriminating, whether in scenery, in music, in cookery, in oratory, in theatricals, or in manners; and his preferences, though not always as strongly expressed as we might wish, are on the right side, the side of simplicity and virtue. Sometimes, indeed, he talks too much like an epicure, as when he is taking us the rounds of the Paris eating-houses; sometimes his conversation has too much rattle in it; and sometimes he speaks lightly of matters which call for deep-toned reprobation. But, considering all things, we might look for and wait long, before we should find a more pleasant travelling companion.

An Historical Discourse, on the Civil and Religious Affairs of the Colony of Rhode Island. By JOHN CALLENDER, M. A. *With a Memoir of the Author; Biographical Notices of some of his distinguished Contemporaries; and Annotations and Original Documents, illustrative of the History of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, from the first Settlement to the End of the first Century.* By ROMEO ELTON, M. A., F. S. U. S., &c. Providence: Knowles, Vose, & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 270. — Every one, who is at all acquainted with the early history of New England, knows the great value of Callender's Century Discourse, published in the year 1739, knows too the great rarity of the book, and must be very glad to see it now reprinted. If the Discourse had been merely reprinted, without note or addition, we should have been thankful to those who had thus brought it within the purchase of many who wish to own it. But published as it now is by the Rhode Island Historical Society, preceded by an interesting Memoir of the Author, accompanied with notes, and followed by a rich Appendix, we are doubly thankful, and can say unhesitatingly that it is a solid contribution to our literature, and that no American library should be without it. The Society has shown its patriotism, the editor his correct judgment and antiquarian research, and we trust that the public will show that it knows how to appreciate labors so well directed and so truly profitable.

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THIRD SERIES — No. XX.

NOVEMBER, 1838.

Art. I. — *The Skepticism of the Present Age: being a Translation of one of the Lectures of M. Jouffroy, in his Cours de Droit Naturel.*

Gentlemen, — We have now completed the discussion of the systems which destroy the basis of morality by reasonings not drawn from the facts of human nature, and according to my original plan I proposed to pass next to a second class of systems, which lead to the same result through an incomplete and false analysis of these facts. But after what has been said in the two last lectures on the subject of skepticism, I have thought it might be useful for us to give some consideration to what may be called the *skepticism of the present age.* It is well thus to characterize it, because as it is not in my view a form of genuine skepticism, this distinctive name may aid us in acquiring a correct and precise view of the actual moral condition of our era.

Skepticism, Gentlemen, is a disposition in the mind to admit nothing as worthy of belief; a disposition produced by such a view of our means for acquiring truth, as leads to the conclusion that we are incompetent to attain to any certain knowledge. Such is skepticism strictly defined, and to such skepticism I will give the name of *absolute skepticism,* to distinguish it from another state of mind also called *skepticism,* which differs from it entirely.

The state of mind to which I now refer may be seen in any person who is without a faith; and yet he may be wholly want-

ing in the characteristic of genuine skepticism, a determination to believe nothing, founded on the opinion that we have no means of arriving at certainty. A person may be without a faith simply because he does not know what the truth is upon the great questions of human interest, and not at all because he admits in principle that the human mind is incapable of attaining to truth. Let us call this state of mind *actual skepticism*, to distinguish it from the disposition to believe nothing, which I have named *absolute skepticism*.

Keeping in mind this distinction, we shall see at once that the mass of mankind can never be *absolute skeptics*. They have not the information and leisure requisite for such an analysis of the phenomena of knowledge, as would lead to the conviction that the human mind is incapable of arriving at truth. The world has never yet seen, and for ages at least never will see a whole people penetrated with such a conviction, and possessed by such a skepticism. But on the other hand, *actual skepticism*, or a simple want of faith from mere ignorance of the truth upon important questions, may very easily prevail among the mass of a people; though even this, the only kind of skepticism to which they are liable, is always repugnant to them.

Among the various considerations from which absolute skepticism arises, there is but one that can to any great degree be felt by a whole nation and thus introduce into it the germ of genuine skepticism. This consideration is the contradictory and variable nature of human opinions. But it is only the better informed who are liable to be impressed even by this; for to rise to a view of human opinion as contradictory and variable, must require such a degree of historical knowledge as can be possessed only by the more enlightened. The people truly so called are not competent to this. I add, now, that this truly skeptical view, the only one, as I have said, which can penetrate the heart of a people, is always a traditional and transmitted one, and never originates in the spontaneous action of the people itself. In every instance it will be found to be an impulse communicated from the philosophy prevalent among the few, who consecrate their lives to thought and reflection.

True skepticism is then peculiar to men who reflect, whose social function, if I may use the expression, is thinking. Absolute skepticism is always foreign to the mass. The skepticism to which they are liable is actual skepticism; and this is, as we

have seen, not a determined disposition but an accidental state of mind, consisting in a simple want of knowledge as to what the truth is upon the great questions of human interest.

No student of history, Gentlemen, will deny that there have been eras, when this actual skepticism, this want of all faith and conviction has been widely spread throughout the mass of mankind; or that, on the contrary, there have been eras, when systems giving definite solutions of all great questions have prevailed. History shows us states of society, where whole nations, from the child who has not begun to think to the old man on the verge of life, have believed firmly in certain absolute dogmas; and it shows us also other states, where whole nations have been plunged in doubt and ignorance as to truth. As a matter of fact then there have been eras, when actual skepticism has pervaded the mass, and others, when it has been unknown.

History assigns to these different states of society names which are most distinctive of their peculiar characteristics. She calls the former religious eras, the latter irreligious; because in the one religion has prevailed, while in the other its influence has been wanting. For observe, Gentlemen, a system of faith upon the great questions of human interest, established on the common convictions of all men, of the enlightened, and of the people alike, always assumes the form and receives the name of a religion. Thus far, in the world's history, it has always been under a religious form, that the great ideas, which have possessed nations, and governed and guided them, have been exhibited. On the other hand, the eras, where the masses have wanted all faith and established convictions, have been those in which religious faith was annihilated, and where no religious doctrine prevailed. It is with good reason then, that history distinguishes as religious the eras of faith, and as irreligious those of actual skepticism.

What now it may be asked are the causes of this skepticism? I have elsewhere exhibited them, and they are at the present day well known. When a system of faith has prevailed among the masses for a length of time, there will, and must come a period sooner or later, when the errors, which are intermingled with even the highest and most important truth in all human opinions, will strike the minds of the most enlightened. Then springs up a spirit of critical examination, which, scrutinizing the whole system of faith and discovering its various imperfections,

ends by concluding, that where the parts are so defective, the whole system must be unworthy of credit in an advanced stage of society, and should therefore be rejected. It is among philosophers, or at least among the most intelligent members of society, that such a revolution commences; and it is among them that it is carried out and completed; but the results of their researches penetrate all classes, and finding their way down from the summit to the base of society, reach finally the masses, where sapping and ruining all convictions and the whole system of truth, they produce a total want of faith. Such is the progress of actual skepticism among the people. It is a result of a foreign and superior influence, that is, of the action of philosophers, who summing up the knowledge which the human race has attained, and comparing with it the prevailing faith, discover and announce that this received system is not on a level with the advanced intelligence of their age, and should therefore be rejected.

That we, Gentlemen, at the present day, are living in such an era is so evident, that few would be inclined to question it. How, indeed, can it be denied that in most minds now there is an utter want of faith upon the great questions which interest man? And yet, Gentlemen, in the midst of this actual skepticism, you cannot find a shadow of absolute philosophic skepticism. Indeed, if you could penetrate the minds of the mass, you could not find in their modes of thinking any one of the grounds of absolute skepticism, even so much as suspected. The people do not trouble themselves with asking, "what is the authority of the human faculties," or, "what is the nature of the object of knowledge, or the nature of knowledge itself;" they are utterly ignorant whether the nature of our faculties, of the object of knowledge, and of knowledge itself, are or are not such, as would lead to the conclusion, that the mind is incapable of arriving at truth. The masses never think of this. But further I will say, that even in the more intelligent portion of society, in that portion which thinks and reflects, and may properly be called the philosophic class, the elements of absolute skepticism are hardly to be found at all, or only in a very small degree. Without doubt, in our age as in all ages, there are minds to which such considerations present themselves, but the incredulity of our age is not caused by them. The cause of prevalent incredulity is simply, that all former solutions of interesting problems have been refuted, and that no

others as yet are found. Our age is not so much skeptical, as it is wanting in faith; it does not believe that truth cannot be discovered; it is merely ignorant of the truth.

The revolution, of which this state of mind is the result, had its origin long ago; it dates back not to the political revolution of 1830, nor to the events of 1814, nor to the social revolution of 1789; it has come down from a much earlier age, and began as far back as the fifteenth century. I say as far, because we should find on close examination, that it had an origin yet more remote.

In this revolution, Gentlemen, there have been two distinct periods, each having its peculiar causes, character, and results; and we must distinguish these periods accurately, if we would form a precise notion of our present situation.

Before this want of all conviction, which I have described, can pervade any people, there must have been previously a conflict of longer or shorter duration, but still a violent one, against the dominant faith. Every such revolution, as we have been considering, has necessarily its origin in a period of warfare with prevalent opinions, terminating in their defeat and overthrow. Now in the present instance, a controversy of this nature has been continued from earlier times to our own day; and it was indeed the striking and distinguishing characteristic of the eighteenth century, that it was incompetent to finish the controversy, which had been transmitted to it. The eighteenth century was the closing scene of the first period of the revolution, which we of the nineteenth century are living in the midst of; it did not begin this revolution; it neither discovered nor announced its leading principles; but it did make them popularly known, and did disseminate their results through society. The eighteenth century acted an important part therefore in the progress of this revolution, for it exhibited plainly to all eyes the true nature of the controversy.

In this first period of the revolution, Gentlemen, the loss of earlier convictions was not accompanied with a desire of another faith to supply their place. We do not find, in the skeptical writers of the eighteenth century, any longing expressed for faith. They were filled with a sense of the work of destruction which they were commissioned to perform; but so far were they from being conscious of a desire and need of faith, that they even rejoiced and triumphed in their skepticism as in their chief title to honor. We have reached an era now, however,

when the results of this destructive war remain, without the joy in casting off belief which characterized the last century. This change, Gentlemen, is a momentous one, and it could not but come. It is not in our nature to remain satisfied without light upon the great questions of human interest; when the mind has once lost the truth, it must seek it anew, for it cannot live without it. It is only by a transient illusion, that in the earlier period of the revolutionary era rest and peace are sought in skepticism; no sooner is victory attained than the illusion is dissipated, and the need of faith again is felt. Then begins the second period of the revolutionary movement, a period in which all conviction being destroyed, the desire for faith is once more felt with all its consequences. And this, Gentlemen, is precisely our situation at the present day; we have a want of faith and a longing for it. These are the two characteristics of our age. And our actual condition in all its detail will seem perfectly intelligible, and even such as he might have predicted, to any one, who fully comprehends the logical consequences, of these states of mind. Let us then attempt to follow out the chief of these consequences.

The striking and predominant trait of the eighteenth century, Gentlemen, was a disposition to admit nothing as worthy of belief. As the work then to be completed was the destruction of all that was false, the tendency of every mind was to skepticism. But now, when a desire for faith coexists with a want of all conviction and established principle, a wholly opposite disposition has been developed, even a disposition to believe everything; and this disposition to believe everything is really, Gentlemen, a distinctive characteristic of our age, often as men deceive themselves by calling it a skeptical one.

The consequences of this disposition to believe everything have been different in different minds. Impelled by the common want some have endeavored to reproduce the faith of past ages; and this was natural enough, because as that faith had already once received a definite and complete shape, it was necessary only to readopt it. This class of persons have pronounced their anathema against the three last centuries, and all that they have accomplished, especially against the eighteenth, the most fatal of all to previously established convictions. Devotees to the past, they admire and honor it, and seek to reëstablish in their minds, and rekindle in their hearts, that faith which these three centuries have extinguished. Another class, Gentle-

men, have become utterly discouraged; and seeing behind them only ruined and overthrown convictions, and before them an empty void, they have given up all hope of finding truth. This is the party of despair. There is a third class incomparably the largest, who are waiting for a good which the future is to bring; they too feel the want of faith, but they neither despair of finding it, nor do they seek it in the past, — they look for it to the coming time.

It is natural and necessary that the party of the past and the party of despair should be small in number and in influence; the third party only, which, impelled by the common want, seek to satisfy it by the discovery of a new moral order of the social world, can hope for success.

This movement of loving and seeking for a new faith has introduced a new period in the revolution. It began with the persuasion that the faith of the future must be directly opposite to that of the past, an illusion quite natural and conformable to the laws of the human mind. We all reason thus in great and small affairs alike; it is the first and instinctive movement of the human mind. This reaction produced a general tendency to the opposite of what had already been. We had been living under an absolute government; we were driven therefore to the opposite of such a government, that is, to a democracy. The philosophy of the Christian faith which had prevailed was eminently spiritual; a material faith was therefore introduced to reign for its moment. Art too under the influence of Christianity had been spiritual and ideal, like the convictions which it embodied; and art therefore must become, as it did under David, first material, and then somewhat later fond of the actual and even of the deformed. The morality of a Christian era had been a morality of devotedness, of self-sacrifice, productive of greatness of soul and character; the morality which followed the triumph of skepticism was that of pleasure and self-interest. Such were the first fruits of the reconstructive impulse which, setting out from the void that doubt had brought, rushed into the opposite of what had been with frenzied ardor. The necessary result of such a movement was to produce such an exaggerated and unnatural mode of thinking as could not long fail to awaken disgust and dread; and for this plain reason. When skepticism succeeds in overturning a system of faith that has long prevailed over any large portion of the human race, it is by reason of the errors and imperfections of that system. But

skepticism is not confined to these errors, and does not limit itself to a demand of their rejection; reasoning from the parts to the whole, it pronounces the entire system false, and the generations absurd which have held it. Hence, the illusion that truth will be found in what is exactly opposite to past conviction. Now it is impossible that the human race should be governed for ages by ideas which are wholly false; there must then have been a large portion of truth in any doctrine which has for any length of time been generally admitted; for thus and thus only could it have acquired and preserved its ascendancy. To throw ourselves then, in our desire to reconstruct a faith, headlong into the very opposite of what has heretofore been believed, is necessarily to turn away from much which certainly is true in the search of what may be either true or not. Systems, which originate in such a mad movement of reaction, are destined always to disappear after a short existence, before the good sense of mankind. And thus already have we seen the reign of materialism and deformity disappear from art. And in literature also, the impassioned style, which has overstepped and trampled down the rules of Aristotle and Boileau, may be considered as nearly exhausted and soon to pass away. The same movement carried us from the old political regime to extreme and unlimited democracy; but already has this tendency begun to be most seriously and severely judged by that good sense, which sees at once its inconveniences and excesses. The reign of Materialism has been of short duration, and already in the hearts of the young at least, is Spiritualism enthroned; indeed, it would be difficult to find in society at large any individuals advocating that moral code of mere pleasure, which was openly professed by the most respectable of the last century. It appears plain, therefore, that many of the extreme tendencies of the reaction are already dead, while others show symptoms of decay.

The systems which resulted from these tendencies were thus destined to be shortlived; the fruits of a blind reaction, they were blind and fanatical themselves. And now that their ephemeral reign is ended, we are fast falling, and have in part already fallen into a state yet worse than that which immediately succeeded the triumph of skepticism. Then indeed there was an absence of all faith, but there was not a want of confidence in our power of attaining to truth; for we had not yet tested the power by trial, and it seemed as if it would be easy to find new solutions of the problems of greatest interest to man, in place of

former ones which were destroyed. But now when the first efforts of reason in the examination of these questions has failed, now when we have seen only such foolish systems invented as deserve no respect, doubt arises as to the capacity of human intelligence to rediscover the truth which we have lost; and hence a more profound uncertainty and a deeper consciousness of want of faith than was felt at first. From this feeling of want and of uncertainty have originated the most striking peculiarities of the present age.

You may have remarked, that when, in meditating by yourselves or in conversation with others, you seek to determine what is beautiful or deformed, true or false, good or bad, you meet with difficulties; and that in all debates upon such questions each side seems to have reasons in its favor and defenders; so that it actually appears as if arguments for and against were equally strong and worthy of consideration.

But, Gentlemen, do you therefore conclude that this is the natural state of human intelligence, or that these are phenomena common to all eras? By no means. It is the absence, in our day, of any *criterion* of true and false, of good and bad, of beauty and deformity, which produces this condition of things. As all first principles have been destroyed, all rules to guide the judgment have been abolished also; and without a common rule recognised by judgment, we cannot have a common understanding with others, or arrive at any certain solution of any question. And what is the consequence, Gentlemen? Each individual will feel that he is free to believe as he chooses, and will declare with authority his chosen faith. By what test shall it be condemned? By that of some grand truth which is recognised and admitted? There is none. By the authority then only of any one who disputes his opinion, and who, as he is his equal, cannot be his judge. In our day individuals reign supreme, their authority is complete and unlimited. And as the right of each individual to think as he pleases has naturally produced an infinite variety of opinions, all equal in worth and authority, the result is that state of complete intellectual anarchy which we, Gentlemen, are living under. On the one side is the unlimited authority of the individual, for this authority is subject to no common faith, no admitted *criterion* of truth, by which all minds are governed and directed, and around which they rally. On the other side is an infinite diversity of opinion; for as the authority of one

individual is equal to that of another, each is entitled to call his opinion true. Individuality and anarchy then are the two great characteristics of our era; they are inevitable in the present age, and, as we see, they everywhere prevail.

One further circumstance coöperates to establish this state of intellectual democracy. It is experience which chiefly produces inequality between men, storing as it does the minds of those who have lived longest with the greatest variety of facts and ideas. But it is the tendency of eras like our own to call in question this incontrovertible fact. Succeeding to long ages which have believed in what is now proved to be false, it has and cannot but have a contempt for the past; the past is to it the symbol of error; thus far it thinks men have known nothing and doubted nothing; truth is to be sought and found in the future; the more attached we are to the past the farther are we from truth, and truth is nearer the more we live in the future and the younger we are. Hence, Gentlemen, the thorough disdain for experience and antiquity which marks our times. The young man of to-day measures himself with those of many years, and before his school days are over the boy thinks and declares himself equal to his sire; and this state of things is a strict and necessary consequence of what has gone before. This notion of the equality of minds is carried so far, that the judgment of eighteen has as much authority as that of fifty, and the reasoning of a day laborer on a question of policy is considered as decisive as that of a statesman, whose whole life has been past in the midst of public affairs, or of a student grown grey in thought. Undoubtedly the good sense, which survives the greatest alterations of human intelligence, will moderate this intellectual democracy, and check the consequences which may be seen logically to flow from it; but though checked, they yet more or less appear, as if to make mankind aware of their tendencies.

This is not all, Gentlemen; the conviction that the past has been deceived leads to a disregard of the serious study of historical facts; and the conviction, that there is no criterion for truth produces a contempt for reflection; and hence results a profound ignorance, which, combined with presumption, are two characteristic traits of the present intellectual era. The consequence of all this upon the literary productions of our time is the amazing folly, with which notions at once the most absurd and trite are confidently thrown out, and the utter want

of all such positive knowledge as would authorize the confidence. These two defects are, however, but the necessary consequences of the individuality and intellectual anarchy, which disturb us; and are but a consequence of our present situation, which is itself a necessary period in the revolutionary movement now passing around us.

The result of the various facts which I have now, Gentlemen, been describing, is a general weakness of character. Character indeed scarcely exists in our day, and for this reason. Of the two elements of which character is composed, firm will and fixed principles, the second is wanting, and the first therefore powerless. For to what end would be a firm will without fixed principles? A mighty instrument, doubtless, but a useless one. Governed and directed by strong conviction it will work wonders of decision, of devotedness, of constancy and heroism. But in such an age as ours, without established faith and fixed ideas, and without, moreover, the power of forming them, where the only authority is the caprice of individuals, who, proud of independence, glory in deciding in every case for themselves, how can such a will exist? He, who has faith, is proof against the absurd ideas and foolish imaginations, which visit even the soundest mind; strong in his convictions, he applies them as a test and a criterion, and chimeras, fancies, and inconsistencies disappear, while that alone, which is in harmony with his convictions remains. But we who are without faith want this criterion, and therefore we can neither judge, approve, nor blame. And consequently, as a fact, we neither do approve nor condemn; we accept and tolerate everything; and by turns the sport of wholly opposite opinions, we are wanting in well ordered purposes, in definite plans for conduct, and in dignity of character. What I now state is not brought forward in the way of reproach, but as a matter of fact; our age is what it actually is by necessity. I only describe and explain it.

The love of change, Gentlemen, is another characteristic of our present intellectual condition. Love of any kind, Gentlemen, is only a desire for something which we need; and our great need now is of those truths, which may restore and regenerate individuals and society; it is in the future only that we can expect to find them. Hence our age is looking with hope and love to that future, and gives itself up cheerfully to change. We seem to be living not so much in the pres-

ent as in the future, and receive each novelty with rapturous enthusiasm; as if, because new, it was that of which we feel the want. The secret and unconscious longing of our hearts is for something yet untried, as if it alone could satisfy our desires.

Hence, Gentlemen, that indiscriminate passion for revolution, which makes us the dupes and tools of each adventurer's ambitious dreams, and renders vain the sacrifices and the cost of social convulsion.

For observe, Gentlemen, what we need is no mere outward change. Let society pass through any number of outward revolutions, and, unless the ideas which it is in want of are thereby supplied, they will leave it exactly where it was, and will be wholly useless. What we want is an answer to these questions, which Christianity has heretofore answered, but which to many remain unanswered now; and nothing is so ill calculated to supply this want as tumults in the streets and overturns of governments. Reflection alone makes discoveries in truth, and peace is needed for reflection. Outward revolutions are indeed of service, when they tend to realize the truths which have already been discovered; but to desire revolution when the truths for which an age is sighing are yet unknown, and as a means for discovering them, is to commit the absurdity of wishing that the consequence should produce its principle, or an end its means.

This, however, is the very thing which the multitude does not see; it is so deluded, as to expect from every future change that new and unknown something, which may make them happy. They hurry on to revolution with blind madness, impatient of the present, eager for the future. Before this torrent of popular passion no institution can stand, no government endure. Hence such shortlived popularity as we continually see. When a new man appears in the political world we greet him with admiration and honor. Why? Because we hope that in him we have at last found one, who can satisfy our wants. And what follows? As he, no more than we ourselves, has any answer for the problems, which we wish to solve, in a few weeks after his elevation to power we find him barren and empty as his predecessors, and at once his popularity declines. In our day, in fact, the mere possession of power is reason sufficient for unpopularity. They only are or can be popular, who have not yet acquired the power they

seek for. They as yet have not uttered their secret; and the moment when they are in a position to declare it, and when it appears that they, like the rest, have no more to tell, the warm favor which welcomed them grows cool, for the illusion which made them great is gone.

From what has now been said, Gentlemen, you can readily perceive the cause of the unhappiness of that collective being, called a government, in our day. The people are like children, who feel a want and cry to the nurse for something, she can neither discover nor imagine what, and which very possibly may be wholly out of reach. The people feel a painful uneasiness, but they know not its cause; and they ascribe it therefore now to the form of government under which they live, and then to those who conduct it, that the evil which they suffer from is not rooted out. They forever desire to substitute other men for those now in power; in place of established forms they would have new ones; and for existing laws and the social order already prevailing they seek new laws and a new order; persuaded that the source of the evil is in the government, in the laws, in the organization of society, and that with the change of these they shall find what they seek for. But were all changed they would still remain as unhappy and discontented as at first, for the changes they desire are only outward and material, not moral, while it is a moral change of which there really is a want. And as long as the desired solutions of these questions remain unfound, in the light of which society is to be remodelled in a form adequate to the wants of the human mind, so long will society continue to pass through a constant succession of ineffectual changes.

Whence, Gentlemen, arose that social structure which the three last centuries have sapped the foundations of, and which the revolution finally overthrew? It arose from the solutions which Christianity had given of the great problems of human interest. These solutions, unlike those proposed by the wise of our time, were not negative in character; and hence the results to which they led in art, religion, and politics were positive; institutions and laws proceeded from them; organizations and forms of government, social and political order were wrapped as a germ in these solutions; and this order has been, and could not but have been, unfolded in past ages. At the present day this order is destroyed, and to produce another in its room we need a new germ, that is to say, new solutions

of those grand questions, which Christianity had answered before. These questions must be answered before either individuals or communities can be reorganized and reproduce a new system of life and conduct. How indeed can they, who know not the end for which they are living upon earth, determine the manner in which they ought to live; and ignorant of this, how can they constitute, organize, and regulate society? If we know not the destiny of individuals, we cannot know that of society; and if we know not the destiny of society, we cannot organize it. A religious and moral faith is then the only possible solution of political problems. We have not such a faith, and no outward revolution therefore whatsoever can accomplish anything for society.

We cannot meditate too much, Gentlemen, upon these considerations, if we would acquire a distinct and accurate view of the present state of things; for here, and not elsewhere, is its explanation. But the people are ignorant of their true condition, and their blind and generous impulses therefore are used as instruments by ambitious men. Each day appear a crowd of empirics, who promise on the single condition of being raised to power that they can supply the want, which all are conscious of, and seek in vain to satisfy. The intelligent and enlightened see, that these quacks abuse their power; but as if they had really found that unknown something, which all are craving for, they talk of *republic*, of *unlimited suffrage*, of *legitimacy*, and seduced by the word which we mistake for a thing, we passionately pursue the untried good and discover our mistake, only when experience has proved that it is an empty name. Thus again and again we give new names to the unknown good, and chase a thousand phantoms, which can never satisfy us, but will forever leave us discontented as before. Here is the explanation of the constant disappointments, which for forty years the friends of social liberty have experienced in France.

By turns, each new form of freedom has seemed to be the good for which we were sighing, and a want of it the source of all our woes. But when successively we have acquired them and yet found ourselves unimproved in condition, we are restless as before; and a revolution is scarcely over, when the plan is sketched for a new one. The cause of this is our ignorance of our own condition. These various forms of civil liberty, which we have been struggling for, civil liberty itself

indeed, is not and cannot be the end which society in our day is really pursuing. It is indeed an advantage of free communities that no master can turn them from the pursuit of their true end, and impose upon them one of his own choosing; and they have this other advantage also that they are better fitted than other communities to discover and accomplish their true destiny. In this twofold aspect the various successive forms of civil liberty have been beneficial; but beyond this they have brought no good. Liberty is nothing more than an opportunity offered to a people of accomplishing its destiny, and a guarantee that it shall not be hindered from so doing; liberty is not in itself the accomplishment of that destiny. The same may be said of order; and it is plain, therefore, that the true destiny of a community is something different from and superior to both liberty and order.

Do you doubt this, Gentlemen? Examine then the various rights, which we now enjoy, and see if they are anything more than opportunities and means. We were filled with a passion for popular election, and after long struggles secured the privilege, and in consequence a large number of our fellow citizens now take a part in the appointment of the highest public functionaries. And when, Gentlemen, at great expense we assemble our citizens to elect those, who shall command the national militia, or become municipal counsellors, or counsellors of departments, or members of the chamber of deputies, what do we really accomplish? Two things. In the first place, we give a pledge that no individual shall be allowed to substitute his private interests for those of his country, or to prevent the nation from accomplishing its destiny; and secondly, we entrust to the assembled citizens the responsibility of determining and declaring what measures are most for the public good, or at least of sending to the various national councils men, who can decide upon them, or elect among themselves competent persons to be in power. Such are the reasons for which popular elections are valuable; but of these two results, one positive and the other negative, mere election attains only the first; it really does prevent any individual from using the country for his own purposes, and this is all that it can do; for if the electors and those elected are ignorant of what constitutes the public good, it is plain that our wants will not be satisfied, and therefore that mere liberty of elections will not secure the end we seek. The same may be said with regard to liberty of the press and all other civil

rights. So that, however desirous we may be of obtaining various forms of freedom and civil institutions, we shall deceive ourselves greatly, if we suppose that they can by themselves afford a remedy to social ills. Forms and institutions are but pledges and protections against whatever threatens to impede the progress of a moral revolution; and possibly they may be a means also to advance it; but this is all; a moral revolution only can cure our social diseases. I say that the exercise of civil right may *possibly* be a means of advancing this revolution, because high as is my respect for the popular mind, I yet think this popular mind, this common sense, rather fitted to recognise truth than to discover it; of all the great truths which have influenced the destinies of the human race, I know not one which originated in the instinct of the mass; they have all been the discoveries of gifted individuals, and the fruit of the solitary meditations of thinking men. But once brought to light, once exhibited, and it is the adoption of them by the mass of the people which consecrates them.

What has now been said, Gentlemen, of our present moral condition, will sufficiently indicate the course of conduct which every wise and earnest man is in our era bound to pursue, in view of his own dignity and the interests of his country.

And first, Gentlemen, it is his duty to be calm, to raise himself above, and to escape from the chimerical dreams to which the mass of men are the prey; and thus be preserved from the delusive and absurd schemes which are their natural result. To attain this state of mind it is only necessary to comprehend the universal law of revolution, and the precise period of the revolution now passing, at which we, in this age, have arrived. If in what is going on around us, we accustom ourselves to see the successive phases of a grand law of humanity in the process of development, we shall be less disposed to abandon ourselves to the passionate fears and hopes, to the ardent attachments and aversions which every new party and event however trifling will otherwise awaken. It is only when we regard them from this elevation that we can judge of their real importance. When we take a comprehensive view of the mighty revolution, which for the three last centuries has been agitating Europe, and consider its sources and tendencies, — when we measure what has been accomplished with what remains yet undone, — when we call to mind the slowness with which it has thus far advanced, and with which it is destined to

advance in the time to come, — and then conceive distinctly of the true nature of this revolution, and the end at which it aims, how trifling appear many events called important, how momentous others at first sight small. Each object then assumes its just dimensions, and the illusions and passions which had confused the view are scattered, even if they do not wholly disappear.

For those who live in the future, and who are seeking from government and the laws a good which no individuals can bestow, — that unknown and mysterious something which the future veils, — that ineffable ideal, the desire for which prompts each social movement, and which, for myself, I call a new system of faith on the grand questions which must forever interest man; — for all such persons a clear understanding of the nature of the passing revolution, and of the precise point at which it has now arrived, is well calculated to moderate impatience. For when we once comprehend what is really to be accomplished, we see that it cannot be done in a moment, but that it must necessarily be the fruit of long labor and slowly perfected; and that it is not in the power of institutions or laws to hasten the fulness of time. Past history bears witness, that such a revolution must be gradual. A state of society similar to our own prevailed in Greece before the introduction of Christianity, and was brought to an end by that event. Skepticism had made its appearance in Greece six centuries at least before the Christian era; in the time of Thales, even individuals of enlightened minds had already begun to entertain doubts of the prevalent faith, — and two centuries later, in the time of Socrates, there were probably but very few among the citizens exercising political rights, who were not wholly given up to incredulity. Socrates was condemned, to be sure, on the ground that he attacked religion, but his sentence was dictated really by political reasons; and we, in this day, have seen a parallel instance, in a neighboring country, of this union between private incredulity and public profession of faith. If, then, the ancient faith in Greece was destroyed four centuries before the coming of Jesus Christ, and if philosophy even at that early period had begun to seek for new and higher forms of truth, it is plain that mankind were kept for centuries in waiting for that positive faith which could alone reorganize it. Yet more, it is well known, that the establishment of the Christian religion in the minds of the common people did not immediately follow its first introduction; it penetrated to them only by slow degrees,

and centuries were needed to complete its progress. When, then, we attempt to measure the time needed to perfect and finish this former revolution, we find that the human race was occupied for nearly a thousand years in their passage from paganism to Christianity. God forbid, Gentlemen, that I should assert that the human mind, with the immense power which it has acquired in the course of eighteen centuries, will require so long a period as this to finish the work which it has begun in our day; and far be it from me to think that the revolution now in progress is to lead to any such complete change of opinion. Christianity has too strong a foundation in truth, ever to disappear as paganism did; its destruction was but a dream of the eighteenth century, which never will be realized. But undoubtedly it is to be purified; undoubtedly it is to receive new forms and important additions; for otherwise, the revolt it has excited, the incredulity which yet prevails, and the long struggles and labors of the whole of Christendom, have been without a meaning and a cause; and this it is impossible to believe. As yet, Gentlemen, when we view it rightly, this revolution has been but three centuries in progress; and we must not allow ourselves to imagine that by to-morrow we shall reach its end; neither should it astonish us, since the first period of this revolution has so lately terminated, that we have arrived as yet at only its second period. Many generations may very possibly pass away, before the faith of futurity will assume a definite shape, and be planted deep in the hearts of the multitude, to bless them with the *Credo* for which they now sigh in vain. And during the intervening period the world may remain, as in ancient times, a prey to that state of intellectual and moral anarchy which we have described, and which nothing but the manifestation of some new form of faith can remove. It was Christianity, Gentlemen, which cured this evil in ancient times; and it worked a moral cure before it did a material one; the moral remedy was the principle, of which the material was the consequence. Our cure must proceed in a like manner; first truth, and then social reformation as the effect of truth. Such is the law of revolution. At present, there is hardly the faint appearance and first dawning of new solutions of the great questions of human interest. And it is plain, therefore, that we are as yet far distant from the last period and final completion of this revolution. The journals, which day by day announce a new order of things, give no description of this better state.

They say, and say truly, that the present order does not meet our wants; but they do not tell us what should supply its place; this indeed is precisely what they are incapable of doing; for they, like the people, feel only the want of truths which are yet undiscovered, and they, like the people too, are ignorant of them. They would be nearer the truth if they did but know that they were ignorant of it; and they would be nearer still, if they but comprehended that as yet it cannot be known.

Such, Gentlemen, are the means by which we may preserve a calm mind in this feverish and agitated era. But we must do more than this; we must not only preserve the mind calm; we must direct it. And in this regard how can we do better than imitate the example of those men, who in an age similar to our own, — the age which followed the overthrow of the ancient faith, — so lived that their names have been reverenced through succeeding times? These men, who were the Stoics, announced, in the midst of universal anarchy and corruption, the imperishable principles of morality; established rules for private duty when all public law was broken down; and sheltering themselves in virtue, passed untainted through the most polluted era that history records. We need but mention the names of Marcus Aurelius, Epictetus, and their illustrious friends, to show that it is in the power of individuals to preserve their characters and conduct pure, amidst the ruins of even the corruptest ages. We then, Gentlemen, certainly can do it, — we who live in an age so much more elevated in character, under the light of Christianity, and of a philosophy purified by its power. It is entirely possible for any individual, who will seek seriously to distinguish good from evil, to keep his mind and conscience clear from the swarm of absurd and immoral notions, which an incredible license of thought yet more than of feeling, lets loose each day upon society from the journals, the theatre, and books. There is no one, who cannot, by consulting good sense and his own heart, plan out for himself a course of conduct conformable to the purest maxims of morality, and by firm purpose remain faithful to it and realize his ideal. This, Gentlemen, is possible for us one and all; and what we can do, we ought to do. No one is excusable for not preserving inviolate his character and reason in a period like the present; for although there are in our social condition circumstances, which may be temptations to those who will allow themselves to be led astray and corrupted,

yet it is precisely that we may be prepared for such situations, that God has endowed us with judgment and with will.

And our country, Gentlemen, — our country, — which, next to integrity and honor, should be the first object of regard, — is there not in our time, as in all times, a way of being useful to her? There is; it is to make her true situation and the causes of it known to all her children; to explain to them the secret of their wants, the nature of the good which all are craving, and the means best adapted to its acquisition. This in my judgment is the only possible way of keeping society calm and well ordered, when society is without a faith. We must then, Gentlemen, enlighten as much as we can the great body of the people; never was light so necessary, never did they need discernment more. When society is under the influence of an established faith, the catechism neutralizes the effects of ignorance. But when minds without convictions are left an undefended prey to all ideas good and bad, useful and injurious, as they may arise, there is but one source of safety, and that is the diffusion of such a degree of information, as may enable each citizen to discern his own true interest and the actual condition of his country. All of our day, who understand the times, have a mission of patriotism to discharge; it is to communicate to others their own information, and thus aid in calming down the moral conflicts of the public mind, as they have calmed their own. To one, who really comprehends the present state of things, there is no cause for fear. And once free from fear we can meditate, we can plan our course, we can work, we can live; but when we rise each morning, in the dread of ruin, with the feeling that we are on the verge of some terrible catastrophe, thought becomes impossible; we can but abandon ourselves to the current of events, and there is an end at once to labor and reflection, to all plans for life, and all developments of character; like leaves we become the sport of each passing breeze.

And now, Gentlemen, after what I have said in this lecture of the fruitlessness of mere outward and material revolutions, — after the proof I have offered that they never can advance society towards the good which it is seeking, — but that they produce always disorder and suffering, — need I add, that it is the duty of every enlightened man and good citizen, to prevent if possible such useless evil. Once more I repeat, therefore, that when it is the object of outward revolution to realize and com-

plete a moral revolution, then and then only revolution is both reasonable and right. But when a conviction of the need of a moral organization for society, so far from being generally established in the mind and heart of the community, is not even apprehended by those who profess to be the heralds of civilization, — in such a case, revolution can only bring uncompensated suffering; and every friend of his country should withhold his aid. In speaking to you thus, Gentlemen, I am not preaching a sermon. I do but simply unfold to your view the necessary consequence of the great law of revolution, to which humanity is subject. My frankness and freedom will not, I am confident, be misunderstood.

W. H. C.

Art. II. — *Exclusion of Witnesses for Want of Religious Belief.*

We propose, in this article, to institute an inquiry into the reasonableness, and the right of *that rule of law, by which the atheist, and the disbelievers of the scripture doctrine of reward and punishment, are forbidden to testify in a Court of Justice.*

We feel that this question is one of universal interest, — affecting some of the most important and dearest rights of man in his political state; and we are confident that the merits or defects of the existing rule are, for the most part, within the comprehension of every reflecting person. The whole law of evidence, or, in other words, judicial modes of discovering truth, — whether by an inspection of written records, or by an examination of oral witnesses, — is but one department of that great branch of human study, the science of logic. A practised lawyer would most readily conduct the actual examination of living witnesses; but any skilful logician might equally well reason out the principles of this chapter of that science.

The end and aim of the whole law of evidence, (however monstrous such an assertion may appear to a novice in its study,) is, at the present day, *the development of all the facts and circumstances material to a full understanding of the*

case or trial. Such, however, was not in former times the true and sole intent of the rules of evidence, as established by law. History clearly demonstrates that, in instances without number, these rules have been framed for purposes foreign and inimical to such a design; — for the propagation of some religious or political dogma, — for the discouragement and punishment of some fancied heresy or error, — for the wants of an arbitrary government, or of a rotten and tottering ecclesiastical establishment. Such were the rules adopted, and which are yet more or less enforced in England, rendering a dissenter, a Quaker, a non-conformist, an excommunicant, a Jew, or a Pagan incompetent to testify. But in more recent times, all reasonable men, and all respectable tribunals, admit that the discovery of full and absolute truth is the legitimate purpose of the law of evidence, — of all judicial examination, — subject only to the restraints of *relevancy* and *materiality.*

Such being the acknowledged fact, we are furnished with a safe and simple standard whereby to measure and estimate the value or rectitude of any rule of law whatsoever in regard to evidence; and we are justified in pronouncing any rule false and absurd, which departs from this measure of value.

It would be easy for us to apply this rule of criticism to the before-mentioned rule of law, and, as we think, expose their inconsistency. But we prefer a less rigorous and methodical discussion of the question, and shall therefore proceed to enforce, by a variety of arguments, the doctrine which we cherish in this matter, namely, that *it is wrong and absurd to exclude a witness on the score of Atheism, or any other religious disqualification.* We will first briefly state the arguments, and then examine them at greater length. They are as follows: —

1. The rule of exclusion implies that the excluded individual is incompetent to utter the truth, and wholly unworthy of credit.

2. It implies that the jury (who weigh the evidence) would of course believe the witness, and be misled by his testimony, and that his perjury would escape detection.

3. It is an infringement of the fundamental rights of jurors as the judges of evidence.

4. It virtually invites crime, by rendering the victim of injury in certain cases incompetent to prove the wrongs inflicted.

5. It operates as an outlawry, or ban of excommunication from legal protection, on certain classes of society.

6. It inflicts grievous injury upon third persons, in nowise connected with the witness, beyond their dependence on information within his knowledge.

7. It inflicts a penalty on certain modes of belief, and legislates on opinions.

8. It takes for granted that a witness cannot speak the truth from any other motive than religious principles.

9. It compels courts to the commission of one of two absurdities, namely, either first, to take second hand evidence in regard to the witnesses past belief, as proof of his present creed, or second, to exercise inquisitorial power, and ask the witness to impeach himself.

10. It rates the testimony of a falsehearted pretender to religion above that of an honest and virtuous disbeliever.

11. It is impracticable, — and, by a host of exceptions in its administration, exhibits its own errors and unreasonableness.

12. It violates the fundamental doctrines of our constitution.

Having considered these points, we shall then attempt to show in what manner the removal of the existing restraint would be advantageous, — in that such a change would first, simplify the law of evidence; second, restore their rights to the jury; third, discriminate between divers degrees of credibility; fourth, and thus furnish the light of partial truth as a guide to belief; and that, fifth, it would silence well founded complaints of oppression.

It may be proper for us, at the very outset, to state, that, in point of fairness, the advocates of the existing rule are bound to prove its necessity or value in the administration of justice, because it is in open and manifest derogation of that equality of rights upon which all our institutions are founded. The burden of proof is properly upon them, and not upon us; and should they undertake the vindication of their doctrine *de novo*, we feel assured that they could not make out, for they never yet have made out, a tolerable case. But the law of which we complain being in existence, and in full operation, and any change thereof requiring for its production a corresponding and previous modification of the general opinion, we must ourselves assume the *onus probandi*, and prove the case we would make out.

It would seem that the mere enunciation of the long list of arguments just given, obvious as many of them are to the most careless reasoner, would be sufficient to satisfy our readers that

the law is in the wrong. But those arguments may be presented in greater extent and with a force vastly increased. We will take them up in their order.

1. Does not the rule of exclusion imply that the witness on whom it operates cannot speak the truth, and is wholly unworthy of credit? On what other ground is he excluded? The object of the trial is the discovery of truth. If it were supposed that the witness could further this object, he would be admitted, not excluded. If it were believed that he could, in any degree, however small, shed the light of truth upon any material fact, he would be admitted. The amount of evidence to be obtained from a witness is wholly immaterial, except as a matter of economy. He may know but a single fact, how minute soever, and if it be but material to the train of proof, if it but form a link, though the least, in the chain of evidence, the testimony is essential, and must be had. In regard to unbelievers, therefore, the presumption of law is either that they are utterly incapable of knowing, or else wholly unable or indisposed to utter a single particle of truth, that they are, "*intus, et in cute,*" unworthy of human credit.

Need we ask whether this presumption of law be founded on fact? We trust that all reasoning on this point is needless. For the honor of the race, we would believe that there is no visionary so wild, no disciple of the doctrine of total depravity so ultra, as to imagine that any class of men are wholly abandoned to mendacity,—liars from the love of it, and incapable of truth. To suppose such a state of things is a libel on human nature, equally false and ridiculous. If there be implanted in the universal heart any principle whatsoever, it is the love of truth. As if the great Father of us all regarded *veracity* as the element of all law and order, he has written it all over the universe, stamped it upon the soul of man, and there enshrined and clothed it with a living sanctity. There are individuals who at times forget and violate this fundamental law of our being. But there is ever a motive for mendacity, some object to be accomplished, whether of advantage to be gained or of injury to be avoided. Objectless, motiveless, wanton, and unprovoked falsehood is a moral anomaly, as rare and as strange as an unsphered planet. For it is not merely a violation of our constitutional law as rational beings, but an actual breach of all the restraining principles and motives by which we are surrounded and hedged in on all sides, as by walls of fire. Even

mendacity induced by corrupt motives is malevolent, — puts at hazard self-respect, good name and standing among men, and security from legal vengeance, and exposes the guilty actor to contempt and contumely, to exclusion from the confidence and society of his fellows, to the loss of all social delights, and to the heavy hand of the outraged law.

Such being the facts in regard to our allegiance to *the true*, is it not false and unphilosophical to charge upon Atheists, or any other class, an incapacity for truth, and therefore expel them from our courts? Is it not, moreover, a legal declaration that neither morality, nor honor, nor friendly regard, nor the love of reputation, nor the fear of punishment, nor all these combined, furnish any sufficient inducement to speak the truth, in the absence of religious faith? Such most assuredly would appear to be the significance of the legal rule.

Now we ask not a more conclusive exposition of the utter fallacy of this *presumptio juris*, than is furnished by the every-day practice of the very advocates of the rule of exclusion.

They enter on the study of history, and call to their aid the great historians of England and France, Voltaire, Gibbon, or Hume, without a thought of impeaching their fidelity or veracity. So also in scientific inquiry, whether in political economy, physics, or any other department of knowledge, what student would dream of inquiring into the religious notions of an author, as in any degree affecting the credibility of his statements? And in social life, amongst acquaintances and friends, in the absence of perverting motives and temptations to falsify, all men are received as trustworthy, and believed without hesitation. Thus strikingly in contradiction are their conduct and doctrines in common life, and in judicial examinations. Thus loudly doth day unto day declare the fallacy and folly of their doctrine of exclusion.

We are brought then to the conclusion that the testimony of Atheists may be credible, that Atheists, like other men, will speak the truth when unbiassed by disturbing motives, and that, therefore, to exclude them from courts upon a contrary supposition, is both unreasonable and unjust.

2. In the second place, we maintain that the rule of exclusion implies that the perjury of the excluded witness would escape detection, that he would be believed, and so mislead the jury, or whoever else is the judge of the evidence.

If there be a class of witnesses incapable of telling the truth,

it must be a fact so notorious, as to affect all men alike, and no possible danger could therefore result from their admission; for who would attach credit to any statement coming from such a quarter? This seems very clearly to demonstrate the uselessness of exclusion on the doctrine examined in our first argument. But supposing that there is a possibility of believing the false testimony of the excluded witness, is it therefore proper to remove this danger by expulsion? Cannot sufficient confidence be reposed in the shrewdness of cross-examining counsel, in the sound sense of jurors, and in the experience and wisdom of the bench, to render safe the examination of the most skilful perjurer? Consider for a moment the circumstances under which evidence is given and received. The witness appears in court, passes through solemn and impressive formalities before the examination commences, understands fully the penal consequences of detected perjury, ascends the witness-stand in full view of the bar, the jury, the judge, and the gathered crowd, testifies to facts, or in regard to circumstances, which, in most cases, are well known to other witnesses, and after having concluded his story, is re-examined, point by point, by opposing counsel, with a wakeful and suspicious keenness of inquiry, which leaves no doubtful statement unquestioned, no weak or unguarded remark unscanned or unassailed, no inconsistency or contradiction unnoticed; he is moreover subjected to a like ordeal on the part of both judge and jury, until he has been, as it were, threshed, winnowed, and sifted, again and again; his story is afterwards examined and commented upon by both lawyer and judge, every word, every look, every suspicious peculiarity of manner, made the subject of argument and instruction. In how large a proportion of cases can falsehood escape detection, in its passage through such a process as we have described? Unless we suppose that the witness is a consummate villain, case-hardened in iniquity, dead to all fear or sensibility, astute enough to set at defiance the ordinary laws of probability, and the sagacity of the most practised officer of court, there is not one chance in a hundred that his perjury will pass undiscovered. Falsehood is cowardly, inconsistent, self-distrustful. It blushes, and stammers, and agitates the nerves, and looks through the downcast or averted eyes, and contradicts itself, or else assumes a defying, audacious, over positive manner, and feeling the peril of multiplying the circumstances of a narrative, either adopts a bold generality of statement that betrays apprehension,

or attempts a fool-hardy minuteness of relation, which at once increases the probabilities of exposure, or indicates a fear of disbelief. On the other hand, truth is serene and self-balanced, consistent with itself, harmonious in all its parts, more and more radiating its holy light, the more it develops the series of facts and circumstances in evidence, and securing belief alike without effort or apprehension. So unlike are these great antagonist principles, and so certain is each to manifest without disguise its genuine character. And yet, does the law proceed upon the fear that they may be wholly confounded, and mistaken the one for the other; and this, not by a few individuals of doubtful knowledge, or questionable sagacity, but by long-trained, keen-eyed, and intelligent men!

3. And now by an easy transit we pass to the *third* argument, namely, that this rule is a violation of the fundamental rights of jurors, as the proper and constituted judges of the evidence.

The organization of our courts of common law, with the exception of justices' courts of small jurisdiction, divides the cognizance of all cases between the judge and the jury, to each of which branches of the court is assigned a distinct and appropriate sphere of power and duty. The theory is, that all questions of law are to be exclusively considered and decided by the judge, and all questions and matters of fact (or, in other words, the evidence) are to be settled solely by the jury.

The value and convenience of this organization, and distribution of powers, may, by different individuals, be very differently estimated. The friends of popular government, and of liberal political doctrines, cannot place too high a value on the institution of juries, and on jury trials. But, whatever be the importance of the distinction referred to, it will not be questioned that, so long as it exists, it ought to be consistently and thoroughly enforced. Commingling jurisdictions and clashing rights are great practical mischiefs, introducing confusion and destroying harmonious and friendly coöperation between the rival parties to the strife.

Every professional man would regret and censure any attempt, on the part of juries, to usurp and exercise the functions of the bench, by sitting in judgment on questions of law in disregard of the instruction of the judge. In like manner ought we to regard any judicial usurpation, any attempt by the judge, to intermeddle with mere matters of fact, and thus trespass on

the legitimate domain of the jury. If the distinction between law and fact, bench and panel, judge and juror, be really worthy of preservation, it ought to be as rigidly defended upon the right hand as upon the left, from judicial invasion as from jurors' trespass.

The doctrine of the books upon this matter is very readily learned and stated.

The province of the jury, according to leading authorities, is "to ascertain the existence of facts by means of the judgment which they form of the credibility of witnesses, and by the inferences they make from the circumstances submitted to their consideration." "They are supposed to be peculiarly well qualified by their experience of the conduct, affairs, and dealings of mankind, and the manners and customs of society" to discharge this duty.

It is said that "the law has no scales wherein to weigh different degrees of probability," and that "as the power of discriminating between truth and falsehood depends rather upon the exercise of an intelligent and experienced mind, than on the application of artificial and technical rules, the law has delegated this important office to a jury of the country." The same excellent authority asserts that "it is the great object of the law, that the jury should be fully possessed of all the facts and circumstances of the case."

And now it remains to inquire whether the worth of any man's testimony, its weight, its credibility, — be he Atheist or Christian, a Paul or a Paine, — is not a question of fact. We do not mean to inquire whether it is, in the ordinary process of trials, regarded as a question of fact. We know that such is far from being the case. That the testimony of Atheists, and of those who do not believe in a state of moral rewards and punishments, is wholly unworthy of credit is *a presumption of law;* that is to say, it is, in legal contemplation, a fact so glaring, that it shall never be entrusted to the scrutiny of jurors; but having been once promulgated from the Bench, it remains established forever. Our inquiry is this, — 'Is not the question of credit really and truly a question of fact?' Is not the amount of belief properly bestowed upon any witness a matter for those only to consider, to whom belongs the whole field of evidence? We have shown the utter absurdity of condemning as false the whole testimony of any class of men. It follows, then, that the excluded class may, at times, be en-

titled to some credit. Of the extent and amount of that credit, who ought to form an opinion? But suppose it to be strongly probable that an Atheist would perjure himself, is it not vastly more proper for each individual case to be examined and judged of, in its own light, on its own circumstances, by a jury familiar with all that may guide them to a correct estimate, than for a universal ban of excommunication to go forth against a whole class of men, including individuals of every conceivable moral phasis, and diversity of character?

4. But graver objections may be brought against the rule of exclusion; for it holds out to crime the temptation of impunity. A more serious accusation could in no case be brought against human law.

Suppose an act should be reported to our legislature by the Judiciary Committee, providing that "in all cases of wrong or violence done to the person or property of an Atheist, provided the same be properly concealed from the observation and knowledge of all persons except the victim thereof, the perpetrator, be he homicide, robber, incendiary, ravisher, thief, or simple trespasser, shall go harmless of legal infliction." How would such a proposition be received in a Christian deliberative assembly? Would not a silent horror, or a loud outburst of indignant humanity succeed its announcement? Nevertheless such is, by force of this rule of evidence, the possible operation, at least, of the existing law.

5. Correlative to this last named objection is another. This mistaken rule operates as a decree of outlawry, a sort of Druidical, or papal ban of excommunication from the protection and immunities of law and government.

The Druidical priesthood punished an offender against their rules with a species of interdict, by which he was driven from the society and succor of his fellow beings,

> "from food and fire
> Cut off by sacerdotal ire."

And by the old English law, in certain cases, the ban of outlawry was passed upon some derelict offender, by which it was declared lawful for all good citizens to slay him whenever and wherever he might be found.

Analogous to these barbarous modes of procedure, in its practical operation upon the Atheist, is the present law of evidence, whereby he is rendered wholly incapable of availing

himself, in his hour of need, of legal protection. The torch of the incendiary may flame against his mansion, or the dagger of the assassin may strike at his life, — but in vain does he utter the accents of fear or complaint, — he is neither to be believed, nor protected.

Now in fairness, and on acknowledged principles of political right, the Atheist is by this law absolved from all the obligations of the social compact. That compact is strictly reciprocal; the citizen being bound to allegiance and the government to protection, and a failure of performance on either side rescinds the agreement, and restores the contracting parties to their original condition. So long, therefore, as the Atheist finds no protection from the law, but rather persecution, so long is he under no obligation of duty or obedience.

Thus is it manifest that this exclusionary rule is, to a certain extent, a dissolution of the bonds of society, a severance of the social compact, the body politic, and of course revolutionary in its character. To such consequences are we led by erroneous legislation.

If any circumstance were wanting to aggravate the miseries of this system, it might be found in the fact, that the law is not the result of legislative enactment, is not the act of the representatives of the popular will, but is of judicial origin, — a rule established by the judges in a half barbarous age, and which therefore forms a portion of the common law. If the rule were founded on right reason and sound policy, or were necessary to the due administration of justice, its origin might not influence our regard for it; but as it is false in principle and mischievous in practice, we cannot but look upon it with increased distaste, when we remember that it is a creature of judicial creation, whose existence for a single year depends upon the will of the Bench.

6. But the injury which the law inflicts is not confined to the immediate subjects of its operation. The injury extends to third persons, to men of all creeds and modes of faith, to every individual whose cause in any way depends upon the testimony of a disbeliever. Instances are frequently occurring wherein life or property or the efficacy of criminal law, one or all, are dependent upon a single witness, and wherein they must be sacrificed, if that witness be excluded. Who shall pretend to enumerate the crowds of those who have fallen victims to the law, because their sole, or their most important witness has been excluded as incompetent? Who shall count

the lives, or the wealth, the rights and the tears that have been thus wasted and lost? Who shall attempt to reckon the multitude of crimes and of criminals that have escaped "unwhipped of justice" for similar reasons?

This law does not rest content with inflicting injury upon the living; it is made to disturb the very ashes of the dead. Thus in an important case in the Courts of Connecticut, in a contest between the devisee under a will, and the heir at law, the heir at law alleged that the will of the testator was not duly executed, because one of the subscribing witnesses did not believe in the obligation of an oath. The Court, having satisfied themselves that the witness did not, either at the time of subscribing or of making probate of the will, believe in the obligation of an oath, decided that he was incompetent, and the will not duly executed. The will was therefore set aside, the intentions of the testator wholly violated, and the devisee stripped of his rightful property. This is a case that may daily occur. Attesting witnesses are called in to witness a will or a deed, without any inquiry as to their religion. We make this use of our domestics, of the standers by, of strangers, without fear or hesitation, and yet by so doing we run the imminent risk of neutralizing our most solemn acts and deliberate intentions.

Such results as these would prove the law to be unjust, even were it true that disbelief is an offence properly cognizable and punishable by the civil authorities. Human tribunals have no right to visit either the sins of the fathers upon the children, or of the guilty upon the innocent.

We have been taught to abhor those penal statutes of the mother country, which, besides depriving the traitor of life, strip his descendants of the family titles, honors, and estate. But what consistency is there in complaining of attainder, corruption of blood, and confiscation, while we calmly submit, in other cases, to be stripped and plundered and abused on account of the errors or offences of our neighbors, without even the pretence of privity or relationship between us.

7. And here the inquiry comes up, can the law rightfully interfere in any way with matters of opinion, and undertake to control the intellectual freedom of the people, by attaching pains, penalties, or disabilities to particular modes of thought or belief?

The moral and political wrong of punishing for opinion's

sake, few in this country will openly deny or excuse; especially in matters of religion, in which the individual is responsible only to his Creator. To say nothing of the tendency of this practice to generate hypocrisy in certain timid classes, who make false professions a security against danger, or of its still stronger tendency to propagate the illegal opinions, by arousing in their favor public sympathy and compassion, it is a gross interference with subjects utterly beyond the jurisdiction of human legislation, and an attempt to reduce the citizen to a bondage more galling than manual servitude. That act, or state, of the mind which we call *belief*, is not voluntary, nor within the authority of the individual himself who exercises or possesses it. It is the result of evidence, of argument; and as necessarily follows after plenary proof, as fatigue attends upon bodily labor, or refreshment on healthful repose. How can belief be compelled or extorted? Suppose an ignorant man to be assured by a geometrician that the square of the hypothenuse of a right angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides; he does not comprehend the meaning of the proposition. Should he be commanded to believe it, he might be astonished or intimidated, but no change of belief would ensue. And if the ignoramus in turn should seize the geometrician by his throat and command him, on penalty of death, to abjure his faith in the proposition, the threat and the command would be alike unproductive of conviction. Verbal assent may be extorted, but the understanding and heart go not, in such case, with the lips.

The great and crowning glory of modern times has been the gradual adoption of this doctrine of intellectual liberty, the removal, one after another, of legislative and judicial impositions and restraints on thought and belief, the withdrawal of ancient claims to supernatural jurisdiction. Something remains yet to be done for the completion of this noble reform, and no item of change is more imperatively demanded, for the general good, or the general credit, than the removal of all religious tests in courts of justice.

8. Another erroneous proposition implied by this odious law of evidence is, that a witness cannot, or will not, speak the truth, from any other motive than religious principles, from the fear of punishment or the hope of reward in the moral government of God. That the law implies this, is sufficiently proved by the act of exclusion, unless we suppose that the law of evi-

dence is intended to accomplish other purposes besides the discovery and development of truth.

Is not this implied proposition palpably erroneous? If it be true that in common life there are motives apart from religion, of sufficient force, in ordinary cases, to regulate human conduct, then is it equally true that those motives might be safely relied on, under similar circumstances, in the administration of law. There are such motives. Every human being in civilized society feels himself to be an integral part of the body social and politic, identified in a great degree in interest with its institutions, and with the safety and happiness of all its parts. He is in his nature gregarious. To herd with his species is a necessity of his constitution. Their respect and kindness are essential to his comfort. He is furnished with certain notions of fitness and duty, among which, deeply planted in his heart, (as we have before stated,) is veneration for truth. He has benevolence, he has honor, he has self-respect, he has a love of ease and of safety, and a discreet fear of danger; all which are obviously principles that would be called into exercise in the mind of a witness, even when there might be some motive, of passion or interest, tempting him to swerve from the straight path of truth. But in a majority of cases the suit and its result are a matter of entire indifference to the witness, and his testimony is therefore given without prejudice. Let us see in what manner an unbelieving witness would be acted upon by motives apart from religion.

Solemnly pledged, under the pains and penalties of perjury, to utter the truth, he knows that if he be detected in falsehood, he forfeits at once the respect and good will of his fellow citizens, and all the enjoyments coupled therewith, and becomes an object of public odium, scorn, and contempt, as a traitor to society, and a violator of its organic law. His gregarious propensity and his love of approbation here operate as restraints upon mendacity. But the probability is, that, in most cases, he would never think of falsifying. Truth is the silent, instinctive, constant law of his nature, operating without his consciousness, or if observed, exciting the profound homage of an honest heart. His regard for his fellow men would, in like manner, impel him, with or without reflection, to avoid all injury or offence against their safety or happiness. His self-respect, and his feeling of honor, would strongly tend to guide him in the path of honesty and veracity. A wilful liar lives ever in the

atmosphere of his own contempt, degraded in his own eyes. There is no dearer treasure to a reflecting and reasonable man than the approbation of his own conscience and judgment. Next to this, in most cases, ranks that just regard for the opinions of the wise and worthy, which is properly called *honor*,—a principle sometimes more efficient than even a sense of duty,—a principle which is in most cases safe, because identical with the common sentiment of the race. And finally, the terrors of the law, appealing to the fears, to the love of ease and quiet, to the grosser, but on that account the more powerful instincts of the human animal, would of themselves, in most instances, be abundantly adequate to secure the veracity of witnesses. So many and so various are the motives to truth, even without appealing to the sanctions of religion. After a deliberate inspection of their array, we think that few men will deny that courts might safely rely upon their sufficiency in all cases, where the witness is not operated on by some known and strong temptation to falsehood.

If such be the fair conclusion, it is clearly unphilosophical and unnecessary to require in every case additional motives or sanctions. To insist upon an accumulation, in every case, of all known or possible safeguards of veracity, of the highest possible amount of moral constraint, is manifestly unreasonable.

9. This rule cannot be enforced by the court in which a witness is produced, except by the commission of one or the other of two equally absurd and improper acts, in obtaining evidence in regard to this belief; which two acts are either first, to collect at second hand, reports touching the witness's religious opinions at a former period, or secondly, to call upon the witness in person to impeach himself.

The first named mode cannot be safely or consistently adopted, because it is not, what the law ordinarily requires, the best evidence which the nature of the case admits of; it is indirect and second hand, and does not relate to time present. Reports in regard to a man's religious opinions can only be founded on his former declarations or admissions. Those declarations may, by the lapse of time, have become wholly inapplicable to, and undescriptive of his present opinions. They may have been misconstrued at the time they were uttered, so as, for example, to have been taken as the avowal of deliberate and full conviction, when in fact they were mere hypothetical or argumentative statements, or confessions of occasional and distressing

doubts and uncertainties; or when they may have been simply descriptions of that temporary and transitory condition of the mind, which occurs in the course of its study, before reason and conscience have settled down upon the firm basis of faith. They may have been misunderstood, on account of the poverty either of the speaker's language, or of the hearer's understanding. Or they may now be most grievously misremembered, and in their present repetition, subjected to the same difficulties of language and danger of misconstruction as before. And more than all, if they are statements calculated to prove the witness imadmissible for want of religious qualification, they cannot be taken as true without violating the reason of the law, because they are mere repetitions of the statements of a person declared incapable of speaking truly. Unless it be supposed that absolute falsehood undergoes a chemico-moral change by passing through a second mouth, and is, by a kind of human filtration, deprived of its offensive properties; unless, in short, that which is false, when said by one person, becomes true when repeated by another, — those second hand confessions of faith must, on the theory of the rule of exclusion, be rejected as untrue.

The second method of obtaining a knowledge of the witness's belief, by direct examination of himself in regard thereto, is not a whit more consistent or proper.

It is always wrong to call upon a witness to exclude himself. Inquisition into his private theological notions is tyranny. This is a matter between the man and his God. *Acts*, not opinions, — *conduct*, not fancies or imaginations, are the sole subject-matter of legal cognizance. To place a man before the bar of justice, and then call upon him to stigmatize and brand himself with disgrace and legal infamy; ask him to reveal some unknown or unsuspected opinion by force of which he is to be expelled from court, and held up to public odium, — is not less tyrannical and oppressive than to torture him upon the wheel, or by any other instrument, in the dungeons of a Spanish Inquisition.

But apart from the injustice of the procedure, it is so strangely inconsistent with the theory of the law itself, as we have developed it, as to excite our unqualified surprise, that it could have ever been resorted to. The inconsistency is in first supposing the witness, if an unbeliever, incapable of speaking the truth, and then inquiring of him what his creed is, and placing confidence in his answers: — in first furnishing him (if he be

liable to exclusion) with a motive for falsifying, yet believing statements made under its impulse, and afterwards refusing credit to what he says, without any motive or temptation to pervert the truth. Nor is this all. Suppose him, on the preliminary examination, to make a frank confession of his unfortunate creed, thus speaking the truth in defiance of expected obloquy, is not this veracious frankness enough to entitle him to our belief in regard to matters in which he has no personal interest? Yet in such case he is excluded in consequence of telling the truth. Suppose on the other hand that, when examined touching his creed, he makes false pretensions to full Christian faith. In such case, his mendacity is his passport to credit, and he actually *lies* himself into the confidence and good graces of the court. Thus the liar is believed because he lies, while the honest man is disbelieved because he speaks the truth. Thus, also, the law presumes that the Atheist will speak the truth, when there is a known motive for falsehood, but will falsify when there is every motive for veracity.

10. The result of this rule is, that the testimony of a false-hearted reprobate, who hypocritically pretends to Christianity, is, *in the scale of the law*, of greater weight than that of an individual of whose life and conversation nothing is known but good: the declarations of the notorious liar, — the double-dyed, incorrigible villain, — the blackest and foulest gallows-bird that goes unhung, a pest to society, a very plague-spot and rankling sore upon the body politic, are of greater value than those of an honest and upright citizen, a kind, generous, honorable man, whose veracity has never been impeached, but whose unpardonable and damning offence is, that, through some defect or peculiarity in the structure or education of his mind, his theological notions do not conform to the general opinion. We say "in the scale of the law," because when thrown into the balance of justice, or of common sense, it is not so.

11. This rule of law is demonstrated to be founded on erroneous principles, by the impossibility of applying it with consistency and uniformity to practice.

The basis of the rule is the assumption that certain persons are incapable of speaking the truth, or utterly unworthy of credit. Starting from this proposition, the administrator of the law is obliged, as we have shown, at his very first step, to contradict himself, in order to ascertain if the witness belongs to that class of persons, by his own declarations and confessions

made *in propia persona*, at the examination, or repeated at that time by some one who heard him make them at some former period. And not only so. In a multitude of other instances the rule is expressly or tacitly annulled and disregarded. Some of these will be particularly named, and the reason rendered for the exception will be found invariably applicable to the entire doctrine itself. We will enumerate some of the cases in which the rule is broken, and afterwards consider a few of them more particularly. Such are first, criminal complaints on applications for warrants; second, affidavits to hold absconding creditors to bail; third, poor debtors' oath; fourth, affidavits in court, for continuance, &c.; fifth, trustee answers; sixth, oaths under the assignment law; seventh, all records or copies certified by a sworn public officer, as a justice of the peace, notary, &c.; eighth, oaths under the revenue laws, &c. &c. We might greatly increase this significant catalogue, but our limits restrain us, and we must abbreviate our comments.

First. *In criminal complaints.* Upon the application of any aggrieved party to a judge or justice, during the preliminary examination no magistrate ever inquires into the religious notions of the complainant. Nor would such an inquiry, according to modern decisions, be lawful. The complaint is heard, and if a case be presented that calls for legal interference, a warrant issues thereupon, as of course. It was, indeed, formerly doubted whether the complaint of unbelievers, excommunicants, Quakers, &c., could be entertained, or made the basis of criminal process. But now the rule and practice of admission are well settled. If an Atheist, on whom violent hands have been laid, comes bruised and bleeding into court, and prays for process against his assailant, a warrant is charitably granted, *because justice could not otherwise be done.* But mark the impotent conclusion; when the culprit has been arrested and is brought to trial, the mouth of the complainant is judicially sealed, his voice is silenced, though every gash and gaping wound may plead for justice; and although by excluding his testimony, suffering innocence is doomed to go unprotected, and the guilty prisoner is allowed to escape. Thus is the wrath of the law aroused and her hand filled with thunderbolts, only that the victim may go free, and her power be defied. Thus is the promise of protection so treacherously held forth, most cruelly violated, — "though kept to the ear, yet broken to the hope."

If, on preliminary process, a witness is believed in order that justice may be done, he ought to be credited, for the like reason, at any subsequent stage of the proceedings. The exception is just, not as an exception, but as being the rightful application of right principles; it is just, not because attended by any peculiar facts or circumstances, but because no evidence material to a case should ever be excluded to the inevitable hazard of right and justice.

Second. There is a provision of our law (Massachusetts,) which enables any creditor, who has reason to suspect that his debtor is intending to abscond, on making oath to that fact, to hold him to bail. This provision is intended for the security of the pecuniary claims of all creditors, without regard to personal character or religious belief, and is, in practice, extended as readily to an Atheist as to a Christian. No inquiry is made, or could be made, touching the faith of the affiant creditor. The law supposes in this case that the property of one man is as valuable as the property of any other man, and that a Christian's dollar of debt is no more entitled to legal protection than the same debt of an infidel. No one complains of this uniformity of security; on the contrary, it is universally admitted to be just. It is manifest that trade and commerce would cease, if the law did not afford uniform protection to all classes of citizens in contracts relating thereto.

Now we would ask, is there any reason in favor of admitting the affidavit of an unbelieving creditor in this case, which would not be as forcible in favor of admitting an unbelieving witness in all cases? On the contrary, there are objections to the first, which are not applicable to the latter; for while a mere witness is, in the majority of cases, an indifferent and disinterested person, with no motive for concealing the truth, the creditor is a direct party in interest, swearing in his own behalf. Admirable consistency this. Furthermore it may be said that the exclusion of unbelieving creditors from the right of affidavit would be a mere pecuniary injury, and confined to the party himself; whereas the exclusion of a witness as often inflicts injury upon the rights of personal liberty and safety as on those of property, and extends the wrong to third persons.

The pretended object of this exception to the general rule of credibility, or rather its reason and excuse, is *the security of property.* Let any advocate of the existing rule show, if he can, why the security of property does not require the admis-

sion as a witness in his own behalf of him who has been robbed, plundered, or defrauded, and without whose testimony the cheat, thief, or robber may escape punishment.

Third. In the third class of exceptions which we have named, — oaths under the insolvent law, — humanity and good sense alike vindicate the relaxation of the rule of credibility. If the benefit of the insolvent law were limited to "true believers," if the infidel might not be admitted to take the poor debtor's oath, and thereby discharge himself from jail, then might Christian liberality be displayed in a form consonant with the rule of exclusion, by the perpetual imprisonment of the disbelieving debtor; then might the efficacy of dungeon walls and iron gratings and prison fare, as proofs of the existence, or moral government, of God, be fully tested, as in those good old times of the stake and faggot and solitary cell.

But in the name of consistency, let us ask, why, supposing unbelievers incapable of veracity, or so far abondoned to falsehood as to be unfit for examination by lawyers, jurors, and judges, — why should their oaths at any time avail them? Especially, may it be inquired, why should their declarations on oath be credited, when made under the impulse of the most powerful temptations to falsehood, — the desire of escaping present confinement as well as future liability for embarrassing debts? To credit any individual at such a time, is to admit that he might be safely believed at any time, so long as his statements remained unimpeached by conflicting testimony.

What is the reason assigned, in this case, for the exception? It is *humane regard for personal liberty;* the desire of putting an end to an otherwise interminable imprisonment. And in this "opening of prison doors" to those that are in bondage, we recognise and hail the spirit of the Gospel. But is the value of human liberty fluctuating and uncertain? at one time worthy of legal protection, yet beneath regard at another? Why, then, is it at one time scrupulously protected, while at another it is entirely disregarded? The poor debtor is rescued from jail after a short-lived confinement; but how many are there incarcerated, perhaps for long years, by reason of a loss of evidence occasioned by the exclusion of a witness on the ground of religious belief. The debtor himself might, at the trial of his case, have successfully defended against the claim on which he is now confined, had his evidence not depended upon incompetent witnesses. So of that poor fellow, who has for these

five years been hammering stone in yonder State Prison;—never would he have seen the interior of that dismal abode, had not the witness of his innocence been excluded from Court by the tender conscience of the law. Amazing humanity! surprising conscientiousness! admirable consistency!

The fourth class of exceptions is found in the common practice of Courts. Various motions are made, or requests presented, founded on a statement of facts. For example, a material witness is unexpectedly absent, so that the party cannot now have a fair trial, and delay is therefore sought. The motion for delay must set forth the facts relied on, and must be sworn to by the party or by his attorney. Many other similar kinds of affidavit are in frequent use. They are always received without question or hesitation, and Courts would in such cases as soon inquire into the pecuniary credit, as into the theology of the affiant. This rule is the more liberal in view of the fact that the party testifying is swearing in his own favor, and that moreover no disproof of his statement, except the counter-affidavit of the opposite party, is ever allowed.

Why this liberality? Is it not that form may yield to substance, and because otherwise great inconvenience and hardship would be inflicted? All that we argue for is demanded with equal earnestness by the same considerations.

Similar observations, were it expedient to pursue these illustrations, might be made in regard to the answers of individuals summoned into Court to render an account of the property of third persons supposed to be entrusted to them;—in regard to the affidavit required by law from the assignors of property under the statute regulating the assignment and distribution of the estate of insolvent debtors;—in regard to the records, certificates, copies of records and papers, made by certain sworn officers, such as Notaries, &c.;—and in regard to oaths required by the revenue laws, as well as in regard to many other instances of departure from the rigid intolerance of the rule of exclusion,—in all which instances, because of their frequency, it has been found wholly incompatible with either justice or convenience, to insist upon the administration of the old law in a thorough and consistent manner, and in none of which is there to be found a principle, reason, or apology, for giving credit to the infidel, which does not exist in all cases wherein the question of admissibility, on the ground of religious belief, is raised.

Now we contend that such a multitude of exceptions, in common practice, amount to a demonstration of the folly and error of the rule. A principle of law which, in nine cases out of ten, is found impracticable and intolerable, must be at war with the opinions of mankind, and ought to be wholly annulled. Especially true is this, when, (as in the present instance,) a careful examination of the exceptions reveals the surprising fact, that they are justified by no argument, (excepting perhaps greater frequency of occurrence,) which is not true in every instance where the rule is enforced; so that if the exception be properly made, the whole substantive doctrine should be abandoned as untenable. There is a very absurd maxim, which says that "an exception proves the rule." But no sophist was ever found so far lost to common sense, as to maintain that a multitude of exceptions prove the rule to be anything but bad.

12. We now pass to the consideration of our final argument, which is, that the exclusion of witnesses by religious tests is virtually a violation of certain fundamental principles of our political constitution. A brief consideration of the manner in which the rule of exclusion operates will give clearness to this argument.

We have already seen that the rule is hostile to the doctrine of equal rights, — that it endangers life, liberty, property, and happiness, by placing certain persons out of legal protection, and by rendering them, in certain cases, the certain and helpless victims of force and fraud, thus rescinding the reciprocal contract of protection and obedience between the government and the governed. We have also seen that certain modes of belief are treated as offences against the safety and happiness of society, and against the law of the land, that penalties, in the form of disabilities and legal pains, are inflicted upon those opinions, and that in a strange and cruel manner the individuals, who entertain those opinions, are arraigned therefor, subjected to examination by Courts, and punished by infamy and expulsion from the tribunals of law, without previous notice, or indictment, without opportunity of defence, without a jury, and in fact without a trial.

Now let us look at some of the fundamental doctrines of our Bill of Rights, which are manifestly violated by this rule.

The preamble declares that the body politic is a compact, each party to which is bound by reciprocal obligations. The first

Article declares that all men are born free and equal, and that all alike possess the inalienable rights of enjoying and defending their lives and liberties, and of possessing and protecting property. The tenth Article sets forth the right of every citizen to legal protection as to his person and his property. The eleventh Article declares that every citizen, who is injured in person, property, or character, should, on recourse to the law, find there a *certain* remedy, freely without purchase, completely without denial, promptly without delay. The twelfth Article declares that no subject shall be held to answer for any crime or offence, until he has been furnished with a plain, full, substantial, and formal description thereof; nor be compelled to accuse or furnish evidence against himself, nor be deprived of any proof favorable to himself, nor of a fair trial where he shall be heard in person or by attorney; and that he shall not be deprived of any right, privilege, or immunity, nor be put out of legal protection, except by the judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

Compare this synopsis of our Bill of Rights with the preceding exhibition of the practical operation of the rule of exclusion, and observe the remarkable contrast and conflict between them. Point by point do they meet and clash together, in each instance the Constitution falling beneath the administration of the law. We have not space to run out this comparison as it ought to be pursued, and must therefore leave that task to our readers. But we ask the candid examiner to inquire in regard to this exclusionary law — does it recognise, practically, the doctrine of equal rights? Does it leave to the excluded class the right, the power, the opportunity, of possessing, enjoying, and defending their lives, their liberties, or their property, on terms of equality with those who are not excluded? Is equal legal protection thus furnished by the law to both believer and unbeliever? Does the Atheist, for example, who comes for redress to the law, find there a *certain* remedy, or any remedy at all, for the injury he has sustained? And when a witness (say in prosecuting his complaint in the criminal courts, for some wrong that he has suffered) is stopped by an inquiry into his religious opinions, and called to answer suddenly in regard thereto, well knowing that, if they are of a certain description, his mouth will be shut and the penalty of exclusion enforced, — when this is done without previous warning, and he is called on to furnish evidence against himself, denied the

right of going to a jury with his defence, whether by himself or by an attorney, and finally punished by infamy, outlawry, and expulsion, is not the twelfth Article of the Bill of Rights most flagrantly sinned against, even if it be not, according to the notions of technical lawyers, directly and unequivocally violated?

To questions and objections like these, it is no answer to say that the rule of exclusion existed when our Constitution was framed, and was tacitly recognised by its framers. We admit that it existed then and long previously, and that our ancestors were aware of that fact. But we say that it ought not in reason to exist any longer; that it is hostile to the provisions of the Constitution, to the liberal spirit of Christianity, to sound sense, and, so far as we can judge of common sentiment by the exceptions which are daily made to its doctrine, it is also hostile to the opinions of an enlightened public. Had it, therefore, existed ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel, it ought to be annulled, as a hoary and inveterate offence against justice and liberty.

We shall now state our view in regard to the nature and amount of the needful reform, and its benefits.

The change of law which we desire is not one which shall attach any fixed legal measure of value to the testimony of unbelievers, or declare them more or less worthy of belief. We merely ask that they may be allowed to testify, and that the value of the evidence thus obtained be left to the determination of the jury. Let the fact of the witnesses' belief or unbelief be put in evidence, if it be supposed in any degree to affect their credibility. The worth of that fact is properly within the estimate of the jury, and to them let it go. We are ready to allow, that, under corresponding circumstances, we should trust more implicitly the statements of a Christian, than those of an infidel. It would be an imperfect philosophy, which did not regard a multitude of motives as of greater moral force than one alone. He must be a poor Christian, who does not appreciate the force of those motives which are drawn from faith in God as the omniscient and righteous judge of the moral universe. But we still assert that in common cases, where there is no apparent desire or motive to falsify, it is safe to rely on even the declarations of an Atheist. At all events, jurors are discreet enough to be entrusted with the examination of this subject in the light of each particular case.

Great good would follow the adoption of the doctrine we advocate.

In the first place, it would simplify the law of evidence. This result is manifestly desirable; but the entire desirableness of reducing that branch of law to greater simplicity can be felt only by one familiar with its present involved and intricate character. Volumes are now filled with rule upon rule, and exception upon exception, and perplexities beyond number; all which might be compressed within the good sense of a few pages, by the adoption of sound and simple doctrines. In the instance under consideration, one line of declarative law would consign to deserved oblivion a host of absurdities and errors, and whole chapters of refined metaphysics and ingenious sophistry, leaving to the jury in all cases the whole question of credit and trust-worthiness.

2. We have, in discussing this subject, heard, from at least one distinguished lawyer, an objection urged against entrusting to a jury the consideration of the credibility of infidel witnesses. It was to be feared, he said, that Counsel would fall into the habit of disputing in their arguments, how far Christianity furnished motives or securities for veracity, and it might at times be argued that infidelity was equally salutary in its operation on the conscience.

It seems to us that this argument weighs little. Christianity ought not to fear examination, discussion, comparison, whether in Court or out of it, nor is the truth likely to suffer from the keenest scrutiny. If the fact that ingenious Counsel may resort to sophistry and advocate fallacies, instead of adhering to sound logic and fair reasoning, upon any topic, is a real objection to the introduction of that topic as a matter of evidence or argument, then must we at once abandon the whole field of testimony; for the ingenuity of a well-feed advocate knows no limit or restraint.

On the other hand, the province of the jury being, as we have shown, the facts of a case, and the credibility of witnesses being a fact, the reform which we advocate would restore system and regularity to the administration of law on a point where there is now irregularity and inconsistency.

3. This restoration of usurped dominion would remove from the law one disgraceful blot, the existence of which is expressed in the familiar maxim already quoted, that "the law has no scales in which to weigh probabilities," or in other words,

makes no discrimination between divers degrees of proof, or credibility.

The jury can, in all cases, weigh testimony in the scales of good sense, and estimate it at its real worth.

4. If it were certain that the excluded witness would, if admitted, be guilty, in a majority of particulars, of untruth, yet would it be desirable to admit him; for the advantage to be derived from the fraction of truth which he would communicate. Every fact, however small, every vestige of the truth, how light and evanescent soever it be, is a guide to further inquiry and discovery, — so that from the most artfully constructed mask and disguise of falsehood some feature of hidden truth will flash out and lighten the way to entire revealment.

5. And finally, how much complaint of hardship and oppression, how much appearance of inequality and unfairness, nay, how much actual, real injustice and suffering would be terminated and removed by the desired amendment of the law! In a government like ours, harmony of feeling, affectionate regard for the law as our best common friend, and a fair and equal distribution of legal favors, are of infinite political consequence.

The greatest embarrassment attending this subject is a mere question of mode and form, of practice, not of principle, sometimes stated thus: —

"What!" exclaims the advocate of the existing rule, "*admit a man to swear*, who does not believe in a God? How absurd for such an one to imprecate the vengeance of a Being in whom he has no faith!"

Now we have said nothing about "*admitting a man to swear*." We speak of admitting men *to testify*. The form of the judicial obligation, the mode of promising to disclose the truth, is quite another question. Oaths are now in many cases exchanged for affirmations. Why should they not be in all, or at least in all instances wherein an oath would seem improper?

The formulary of a solemn pledge is not so difficult a matter as many seem to imagine. And yet most of the opponents of the desired reform oppose it on the ground that an oath in the lips of an infidel is no longer an oath in fact, but an absurd appeal to a non-entity.

We desire, in conclusion, to be understood in this matter. We reverence and love Christianity, and "the life and immor-

tality" which it has "brought to light." Nay, more; we would, with the utmost caution, avoid every measure, every rule, and every practice, tending to promote a reckless spirit of change. It is only as the zealous friends of religion and order, that we advocate the legal reform here recommended.

J. A. B.

ART. III.— *Twice-Told Tales.* By NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. Boston. 1837. 12mo. pp. 334.

THE mental and moral influence of the most faultless novels and tales of the fashion now current is at least questionable. There is reason to apprehend, that no mind could feed much upon them, without finding its notions of life unsettled, and the balance of its moral judgment disturbed. And the fault lies, not in any depravity of taste or perversion of feeling in the writers, but in the peculiar *kind* of composition. Fictions of this class create, where there is a creation already. They usurp the realm of fact, and change its order into anarchy. They disturb and displace the fabric of things as they are, and build up their ideal world in the very same space, which the actual world occupies. But true poetry, (from which higher fiction differs only in form,) takes for the theatre of its creations space unoccupied by grosser shapes and material agencies. Its province lies beyond, beneath, and within the world of matter and of fact. It leaves things as they are; but breathes into them a vital glow, writes upon them the image of the unseen and spiritual, and robes them in a softer light, a richer charm, a purer beauty. This is the character of the Tales before us. For this we prize and admire them. They are poetry from the deepest fountains of inspiration. Their interest consists in the development, not of events, but of sentiment. Many of them have neither plot nor catastrophe, indeed, are not tales in the common sense of the word; but are simply flower-garlands of poetic feeling wreathed around some every-day scene or object.

We thank and love the man, who draws aside for us the veil between sense and spirit, who reveals to us the inward signifi-

cance, the hidden harmonies of common things, who bathes in poetic teints the prosaic elements of daily life. We welcome such a work, and deem it truly great, however humble or unostentatious the form in which it is wrought. We feel that Mr. Hawthorne has done this for us, and we thank him. We thank him also for having given us creations so full of moral purity and beauty.

We are charmed by the naiveté of these tales. Their style is perfectly transparent. The author shows himself in all of them; and we feel, after the perusal of this little volume, as if we had always been familiarly acquainted with him. The best pieces in the volume are those, which give us merely a transcript of the author's own musings, with barely a thread of incident to bind them together. The "Sunday at Home" could have been written only by one, who revelled in the hushed calm and holy light of the Sabbath, whose soul was attuned to its harmonies, but of so fastidious a taste and delicate a sensibility, as to be repelled and chilled by the dissonances of the multitude's worship. "Sights from a Steeple" is a graphic and beautiful sketch (à la "Diable Boiteux,") of the scenes and adventures, discernible in a half hour's gaze from a church steeple, — a picture which, as every one knows, must needs borrow its shapes and colors much more from the author's own mind, than from the city of his residence. "A Rill from the Town-pump" is an outgush (in the form of a soliloquy by the pump) of those manifold and party-colored associations and feelings, which always cluster around an object, however humble, which has been familiar to the eye from infancy; and the object is in itself so bare, barren, unsuggestive, as to give us the clearer insight into the mind, which could weave its ungraceful trunk, and arm, and trough, into a charming little idyll, as clear and refreshing as its own cool stream. There is hardly anything in the volume, which pleases us more than "Little Annie's Ramble," which is a mere sketch, simple, natural, full of child-like feeling, of a child's stroll with her friend through the gay streets of the town, by the print-shops and the toy-shops, through all the little worlds of gorgeous sights, which arrest infancy's lingering steps on its earliest walks.

The chief fault, which we can find with these delicious phantasies, is, that some of them are too vague and dreamy, drawn with dim and shadowy outlines only. If we may be allowed to prophesy, we pronounce this volume, beautiful as

we deem it, as but a gathering of early windfalls, — the earnest of future rich, ripe, mellow harvests, we hope, for half a century to come. A mind so rich, a heart so pure and so enamored with purity, a love of nature so confiding and child-like, an imagination so teeming with gorgeous fancies, cannot blossom and shed its first-fruits, without awakening the fondest hopes and betraying the brightest promise.

There is hardly one of these Tales, grave or gay, which we would not gladly give our readers; and we hardly know where to make our choice. We should like to transfer "The Gentle Boy" to our pages; but it is too long, and would not bear the scissors. We will content ourselves with "David Swan," — a leaf out of the every-day book of life, illustrating the safe and narrow path by which a kind Providence guides us between hidden precipices and chasms, by unseen pitfalls both of sorrow and of deceptive joy.

"We can be but partially acquainted even with the events which actually influence our course through life, and our final destiny. There are innumerable other events, if such they may be called, which come close upon us, yet pass away without actual results, or even betraying their near approach, by the reflection of any light or shadow across our minds. Could we know all the vicissitudes of our fortunes, life would be too full of hope and fear, exultation or disappointment, to afford us a single hour of true serenity. This idea may be illustrated by a page from the secret history of David Swan.

"We have nothing to do with David, until we find him, at the age of twenty, on the high road from his native place to the city of Boston, where his uncle, a small dealer in the grocery line, was to take him behind the counter. Be it enough to say, that he was a native of New Hampshire, born of respectable parents, and had received an ordinary school education, with a classic finish by a year at Gilmanton academy. After journeying on foot, from sunrise till nearly noon of a summer's day, his weariness and the increasing heat determined him to sit down in the first convenient shade, and await the coming up of the stage coach. As if planted on purpose for him, there soon appeared a little tuft of maples, with a delightful recess in the midst, and such a fresh bubbling spring, that it seemed never to have sparkled for any wayfarer but David Swan. Virgin or not, he kissed it with his thirsty lips, and then flung himself along the brink, pillowing his head upon some shirts and a pair of pantaloons, tied up in a striped cotton handkerchief. The sunbeams could not reach

him; the dust did not yet rise from the road, after the heavy rain of yesterday; and his grassy lair suited the young man better than a bed of down. The spring murmured drowsily beside him; the branches waved dreamily across the blue sky overhead; and a deep sleep, perchance hiding dreams within its depths, fell upon David Swan. But we are to relate events which he did not dream of.

"While he lay sound asleep in the shade, other people were wide awake, and passed to and fro, a-foot, on horseback, and in all sorts of vehicles, along the sunny road by his bedchamber. Some looked neither to the right hand nor the left, and knew not that he was there; some merely glanced that way, without admitting the slumberer among their busy thoughts; some laughed to see how soundly he slept; and several, whose hearts were brimming full of scorn, ejected their venomous superfluity on David Swan. A middle-aged widow, when nobody else was near, thrust her head a little way into the recess, and vowed that the young fellow looked charming in his sleep. A temperance lecturer saw him, and wrought poor David into the texture of his evening's discourse, as an awful instance of dead drunkenness by the road-side. But, censure, praise, merriment, scorn, and indifference, were all one or rather all nothing to David Swan.

"He had slept only a few moments, when a brown carriage, drawn by a handsome pair of horses, bowled easily along, and was brought to a stand-still, nearly in front of David's resting place. A linch-pin had fallen out, and permitted one of the wheels to slide off. The damage was slight, and occasioned merely a momentary alarm to an elderly merchant and his wife, who were returning to Boston in the carriage. While the coachman and a servant were replacing the wheel, the lady and gentleman sheltered themselves beneath the maple trees, and there espied the bubbling fountain, and David Swan asleep beside it. Impressed with the awe which the humblest sleeper usually sheds around him, the merchant trod as lightly as the gout would allow; and his spouse took good heed not to rustle her silk gown, lest David should start up, all of a sudden." — pp. 261 – 263.

This respectable couple had lost their only son, had been disappointed by the ill conduct of a young relative designed to fill his place, and seriously conferred together on the expediency of adopting this handsome and unsophisticated young stranger as their son and heir.

"'Providence seems to have laid him here,' whispered she to her husband, 'and to have brought us hither to find him, after

our disappointment in our cousin's son. Methinks I can see a likeness to our departed Henry. Shall we waken him?'

"'To what purpose?' said the merchant, hesitating. 'We know nothing of the youth's character.'

"'That open countenance!' replied his wife, in the same hushed voice, yet earnestly. 'This innocent sleep!'

"While these whispers were passing, the sleeper's heart did not throb, nor his breath become agitated, nor his features betray the least token of interest. Yet fortune was bending over him, just ready to let fall a burthen of gold. * * *

"'Shall we not waken him?' repeated the lady, persuasively.

"'The coach is ready, sir,' said the servant behind.

"The old couple started, reddened, and hurried away, mutually wondering, that they should ever have dreamed of doing anything so very ridiculous. The merchant threw himself back in the carriage, and occupied his mind with the plan of a magnificent asylum for unfortunate men of business. Meanwhile, David Swan enjoyed his nap.

"The carriage could not have gone above a mile or two, when a pretty young girl came along, with a tripping pace, which showed precisely how her little heart was dancing in her bosom." — pp. 264, 265.

This girl, too, accidentally turns aside into David's bedchamber, just in time to do battle with a mischievous bee that was settling on his eyelid.

"This good deed accomplished, with quickened breath, and a deeper blush, she stole a glance at the youthful stranger, for whom she had been battling with a dragon in the air.

"'He is handsome!' thought she, and blushed redder yet.

"How could it be that no dream of bliss grew so strong within him, that, shattered by its very strength, it should part asunder, and allow him to perceive the girl among its phantoms? Why, at least, did no smile of welcome brighten upon his face? She was come, the maid whose soul, according to the old and beautiful idea, had been severed from his own, and whom, in all his vague but passionate desires, he yearned to meet. Her, only, could he love with a perfect love, — him, only, could she receive into the depths of her heart, — and now her image was faintly blushing in the fountain, by his side; should it pass away, its happy lustre would never gleam upon his life again.

"'How sound he sleeps!' murmured the girl.

"She departed, but did not trip along the road so lightly as when she came.

"Now, this girl's father was a thriving country merchant in

the neighborhood, and happened, at that identical time, to be looking out for just such a young man as David Swan. Had David formed a way-side acquaintance with the daughter, he would have become the father's clerk, and all else in natural succession. So here, again, had good fortune — the best of fortunes — stolen so near, that her garments brushed against him; and he knew nothing of the matter.

"The girl was hardly out of sight, when two men turned aside beneath the maple shade." — pp. 264 - 267.

These men are a couple of villains, ripe for any crime, and, imagining that David must have a little hoard of money about him, they are going to rifle him, and to stab him if he stirs.

"But, at this moment, a dog, scenting along the ground, came in beneath the maple trees, and gazed alternately at each of these wicked men, and then at the quiet sleeper. He then lapped out of the fountain.

"'Pshaw!' said one villain. 'We can do nothing now. The dog's master must be close behind.'

"'Let 's take a drink, and be off,' said the other.

"The man, with the dagger, thrust back the weapon into his bosom, and drew forth a pocket pistol, but not of that kind which kills by a single discharge. It was a flask of liquor with a block-tin tumbler screwed upon the mouth. Each drank a comfortable dram, and left the spot, with so many jests, and such laughter at their unaccomplished wickedness, that they might be said to have gone on their way rejoicing. In a few hours, they had forgotten the whole affair, nor once imagined that the angel had written down the crime of murder against their souls, in letters as durable as eternity. As for David Swan, he still slept quietly, neither conscious of the shadow of death when it hung over him, nor of the glow of renewed life, when that shadow was withdrawn.

"He slept, but no longer so quietly as at first. An hour's repose had snatched from his elastic frame the weariness with which many hours of toil had burthened it. Now, he stirred — now, moved his lips, without a sound — now, talked, in an inward tone, to the noonday spectres of his dream. But a noise of wheels came rattling louder and louder along the road, until it dashed through the dispersing mist of David's slumber — and there was the stage coach. He started up, with all his ideas about him.

"'Halloo, driver! — Take a passenger?' shouted he.

"'Room on top!' answered the driver.

"Up mounted David, and bowled away merrily towards Boston,

without so much as a parting glance at that fountain of dreamlike vicissitude. He knew not that a phantom of wealth had thrown a golden hue upon its waters — nor that one of love had sighed softly to their murmur — nor that one of death had threatened to crimson them with his blood — all in the brief hour since he lay down to sleep. Sleeping or waking, we hear not the airy footsteps of the strange things that almost happen. Does it not argue a superintending Providence, that, while viewless and unexpected events thrust themselves continually athwart our path, there should still be regularity enough, in mortal life, to render foresight even partially available? "— pp. 268 – 270.

Our author's peculiar talent seems to be that disclosed in the Tale just quoted, — that, not of weaving a material plot, but of gathering a group of spirit phantoms around some scene or moment in itself utterly uneventful.

These Tales abound with beautiful imagery, sparkling metaphors, novel and brilliant comparisons. They are everywhere full of those bright gems of thought, which no reader can ever forget. They contain many of those bold master-strokes of rhetoric, which dispatch whole pages of description in a single word. Thus, for instance, an adopted child is spoken of as "*a domesticated sunbeam*" in the family, which had adopted him. How full of meaning is that simple phrase! How much does it imply, and conjure up of beauty, sweetness, gentleness, and love! How comprehensive, yet how definite! Who, after reading it, can help recurring to it, whenever he sees the sunny, happy little face of a father's pride or a mother's joy? This is but one of many of our author's similes, which we find branded into our own memory, as instinct with life and beauty.

We have spoken of the high moral tone of these pages. It is for this, for their reverence for things sacred, for their many touching lessons concerning faith, Providence, conscience, and duty, for the beautiful morals so often spontaneously conveyed, not with purpose prepense, but from the fulness of the author's own heart, that we are led to notice them in this journal. We close our notice by extracting two or three passages, which will convey some idea of the holy breathings that pervade the book. Our first extract is from the "Sunday at Home."

"On the Sabbath, I watch the earliest sunshine, and fancy that a holier brightness marks the day, when there shall be no

buzz of voices on the Exchange, nor traffic in the shops, nor crowd, nor business, anywhere but at church. Many have fancied so. For my own part, whether I see it scattered down among tangled woods, or beaming broad across the fields, or hemmed in between brick buildings, or tracing out the figure of the casement on my chamber floor, still I recognise the Sabbath sunshine. And ever let me recognise it! Some illusions, and this among them, are the shadows of great truths. Doubts may flit around me or seem to close their evil wings, and settle down; but, so long as I imagine that the earth is hallowed, and the light of heaven retains its sanctity on the Sabbath — while that blessed sunshine lives within me — never can my soul have lost the instinct of its faith. If it have gone astray, it will return again." — p. 27.

We must not forget the beautiful close of "Little Annie's Ramble." Annie's mother, alarmed by her absence, has commissioned the town-crier to look her up.

"Stop, stop, town-crier! the lost is found. Oh, my pretty Annie, we forgot to tell your mother of our ramble, and she is in despair, and has sent the town-crier to bellow up and down the streets, affrighting old and young for the loss of a little girl who has not once let go my hand! Well, let us hasten homeward; and as we go, forget not to thank heaven, my Annie, that after wandering a little way into the world, you may return at the first summons, with an untainted and unwearied heart, and be a happy child again. But I have gone too far astray for the town-crier to call me back.

"Sweet has been the charm of childhood on my spirit, throughout my ramble with little Annie! Say not that it has been a waste of precious moments, an idle matter, a babble of childish talk, and a reverie of childish imaginations, about topics unworthy of a grown man's notice. Has it been merely this? Not so; not so. They are not truly wise who would affirm it. As the pure breath of children revives the life of aged men, so is our moral nature revived by their free and simple thoughts, their native feeling, their airy mirth for little cause or none, their grief soon roused and soon allayed. Their influence on us is at least reciprocal with ours on them. When our infancy is almost forgotten, and our boyhood long departed, though it seems but as yesterday; when life settles darkly down upon us, and we doubt whether to call ourselves young any more; then it is good to steal away from the society of bearded men, and even of gentler woman, and spend an hour or two with children. After drinking from those fountains of still fresh existence, we

shall return into the crowd, as I do now, to struggle onward and do our part in life, perhaps as fervently as ever, but, for a time, with a kinder and purer heart, and a spirit more lightly wise. All this by thy sweet magic, dear little Annie!" — pp. 181, 182.

Who does not recognise in this extract, and in the whole playful little piece which it closes, a beautiful, though unintended commentary on the divine act of Him, who, to allay the heated passions and jealousies of wrathful and selfish men, "called a little child unto him, and set him in the midst of them"?

A. P. P.

ART. IV. — THE CLAIMS OF EPISCOPACY EXAMINED; BEING THE DUDLEIAN LECTURE DELIVERED IN THE CHAPEL OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, MAY 9TH, 1838. BY THE REV. GEORGE R. NOYES.

IT is, I presume, known to this audience, that the subject of the present lecture is not of the speaker's choice. If it were so, no sufficient apology could be made for bringing forward a topic so destitute of interest at the present time, as that of the validity of congregational ordination. Who doubts or denies the validity of congregational ordination, is the question, which is at once suggested by the annunciation of the subject.

The present lecture was founded by an accomplished chief justice of Massachusetts, at a time when it was a colony of Great Britain; and when the belief was entertained that undue influence from abroad was, or was to be, exerted to introduce the English hierarchy into the land of the Puritans. And though this danger has ceased, and though the Episcopal controversy has grown obsolete in this part of the country, the lecture is continued from respect to the memory and will of the founder, and from regard to whatever intrinsic importance the subject may still possess.

At any rate a necessity is laid upon the speaker to devote the passing hour to the discussion of this subject, and he must address himself to his task, trusting that the circumstances, which have been mentioned, will be a sufficient apology to those, from whom he may differ in opinion, for reviving an ob-

solete controversy, and to all his hearers for inviting their attention to an argument upon so dry a topic.

According to the will of the founder of this lecture, it is my duty "to maintain, explain, and prove the validity of the ordination of ministers, or pastors of the churches, and of their administration of the sacraments, or ordinances of religion, as the same hath been practised in New England from the beginning of it. Not," says he, "that I would invalidate episcopal ordination, as it is commonly called and practised in the church of England."

Though I am not called upon to deny the validity of any species of ordination, yet it so happens, that the only way of completely establishing the validity of congregational ordination is by disproving the exclusive claim of Papal and Protestant Episcopacy. The term validity has a different force from sufficiency or utility. It has reference to a claim of divine right, and of exclusive authority to administer the ordinances of religion in a manner acceptable to God and profitable to the recipient. If I could succeed in proving ever so clearly, that ordination, or induction into office, by the common members of a Christian church, or by Christian ministers of equal rank, is agreeable to reason, and well adapted to answer the great end for which Christ came into the world, namely, to establish the empire of truth and duty in the souls of men, still I should be met with the assertion that Episcopacy is a matter of express divine Revelation; that it has been expressly commanded by the Maker of heaven and earth that all Christian ministers should be ordained by one of superior rank, called a bishop, and not by the united agency of any number of Christian men, or Christian ministers of equal rank; and that thus the Episcopal ministry is obligatory to the exclusion of all other ministries. This claim, though abandoned by many of the great lights of the English church,* is now set up by the Episcopal church in this country, as appears from a recent treatise of an American bishop, published by the authority of the Protestant Episcopal press.†

* See various documents in Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. Index, *Bishops*. Especially, pp. 495 – 498, Edition 1732, and Stillingfleet's Irenicum, p. 393, &c.

† *Episcopacy tested by Scripture.* By the Right Reverend Henry U. Onderdonk, D. D., Assistant Bishop &c. in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. New York: Published by the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society.

Now I do not believe that the Governor of the world has established any particular mode of ordination, or revealed his will that any particular order of men should perform it. The laws of truth and order, duty and piety, are all which in my view have been established by Jesus Christ. I believe that any mode of publicly appointing a Christian minister is valid; that by being ordained a man acquires no new character, no new rights or powers, and is placed in no new relations, except those created by his peculiar duties; and consequently that what essentially constitutes a Christian minister is intellectual and moral fitness for the performance of his duties, and the consent or choice of those for whom he performs them. I believe, therefore, that every mode of ordination, the Episcopal among the rest, is valid, which secures the end of it, the establishment of able and pious Christian teachers, and thus the establishment of Christian dispositions and principles in the human soul. Congregational ordination I prefer, because I think it has been found by the experience of the New England churches to answer this end as well as any other, and is free from some objections, to which Episcopacy is subject, and is not inconsistent with the revealed will of God.

This last negative point is the principal thing to be established by a Congregationalist. Jesus Christ and his apostles are the sources from which we are to obtain light upon it. Let us first endeavor to ascertain the mind of the author and finisher of our faith respecting it. It is admitted by all that he has given no express command upon the subject of ordination. Still it may be possible to infer what was his mind in relation to it. He must have relied upon some means for the establishment and propagation of his religion in the world. Let us then view this particular question of ordination in the light of the general subject, of which it is a part. By getting an insight into the mind of Jesus respecting the means upon which he relied to secure the triumph of his religion in the world, we may infer what was his mind upon this particular question of ordination, and what he would have said upon the subject, had he expressed his mind in words.

I. In the first place, Jesus relied upon his personal ministry; upon his miracles, the special proofs of his divine authority; upon his teachings; upon his life; upon his cross. He relied upon the influence of all these upon the human understanding, and the human heart. He had confidence in the capacity of the human understanding to appreciate evidence and to judge

of the truth. He had confidence in the human conscience, that it would perceive and value the beauty of moral excellence in precept and in conduct. He had confidence in the human heart, that it would feel the power of disinterested love. He relied upon no outward trappings, no robes of office, no official sanctity, no connexion with the temple, no means of any kind, adapted to secure a blind veneration. "Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right," * is his language. He claimed, indeed, to be a king; but a king, not of armies, of treasures, of palaces, of outward authority and pomp, but a king of truth. "Art thou a king then?" is the question of Pilate to him, who stood arraigned as a Jewish criminal before him. "Yes, I am a king," is the reply; "for this end was I born, and for this end came I into the world, that I might bear witness for the truth. Every man, who is for the truth, is my subject." †

And to whom did Jesus chiefly address himself? To the priests, to the occupiers of the chief seats, to Gamaliel and his scholars? No! He addressed himself to the common mind. He regarded his truth, not as a luxury for philosophers, or a special deposit for the theologians and priests, but as the means of salvation to the poor. He entrusted not the keys of knowledge to any particular class of men. He aimed to gain a lodgment for the truth in the minds of the common people. He proclaimed it in the streets and in the fields, at the social circle, amid publicans and sinners, at the wedding supper, at the grave of his friend, by the wells of water, and in the solitude of the mountains. Wherever he could find human minds and hearts into which he might cast the good seed of the word, there he cast it, entertaining a calm confidence that the leaven of his truth would finally pervade the whole lump of human society; that the grain of mustard seed would not perish, but grow into a great tree, the leaves of which should be for the healing of the nations.

Thus you see that, for the establishment and propagation of his religion in the world, Jesus relied upon qualifications received from God. He aimed not to secure blind veneration, but to convince by evidence, and to win by disinterested love, manifested by his life, and especially by his cross. The spirit of Christ, then, as manifested by his personal ministry, is wholly opposed to the spirit, which attaches importance to any particu-

* Luke xii. 57. † John xviii. 37.

lar mode of ordination, or relies upon inherent official sanctity or authority, transmitted from age to age through the efficacy of a ceremony, performed by a particular class or caste of men. When he abolished sacrifices and ceremonies, and declared that the true worshippers should have access to God, not only at Jerusalem and in the temple, but in every spot, where the spirit of sincerity and truth was found, he meant to abolish the order of priests, as a separate caste, standing between God and the people, and clothed with an official inherent sanctity and authority. His followers were to be all clergy and all laity, all priests and all people. The truth of Christ, the care of his religion, as a permanent thing, was entrusted by him to Christians at large, who were to call no man master, but Christ.

II. In addition to his personal ministry, another means, relied upon by Christ for the permanent establishment and propagation of his religion in the world, was the constitution of a society or church, composed of those, who not only received his religion, but professed it, and cherished fellowship with each other, and with him as their common head, by the participation of the Lord's supper. He seems to have deemed it a matter of importance that his disciples should make a public profession of faith in his religion. In his conversation with Nicodemus he says in his most solemn manner, "Except a man be born of water and of the spirit he cannot see the kingdom of God." The general meaning of this declaration is obvious. It is as if he had said to Nicodemus, it is not sufficient to come and listen to me in the darkness of night; it is not sufficient to be born of the spirit, or to receive my religion into the soul, and keep it a secret from the world. My true disciples, the genuine subjects of the kingdom of God and the possessors of its blessings, must own themselves to be my disciples by a public profession of faith in my religion. They will be willing to be born of water as well as of the spirit. Such a public avowal of conviction of Christian truth was eminently useful, and perhaps essential to the first establishment of Christianity in the world. In an age when so many motives existed, urging to the concealment of one's opinions, it was particularly necessary not only to receive Christian truth into the inner man, but publicly to profess it to the world. Nor do I perceive in the nature of the case any reason for supposing that a public religious profession should be regarded as a temporary appointment of the founder of our religion. If it were necessary in its infancy, it

is useful now. It serves to strengthen attachment to the truth in the mind of the professor, and at the same time to make known to others what one has found to be true and precious. It is well that the world should be informed in the most authentic way what have been the convictions of the most exalted minds. It is well that the world should know that such men as Parsons and Marshall have been convinced of the divine authority of Jesus Christ, and thus that his religion possesses high claims to their immediate and attentive investigation. This purpose is gained in the most effectual way by a public religious profession. To be born a member of a parish, to own a pew in a church, to be an occasional or constant attendant upon Christian worship, is not, at the present day, a sufficient testimony that one is a believer in the divine authority of Jesus Christ. It was a wise measure for the establishment and security of his religion, that Jesus should constitute a society or church, which should consist of those, who were willing to make a public profession of faith in his religion. However, therefore, the true use of a church may have been lost sight of, however numerous may be the errors in regard to the qualifications of membership, however great the abuses to which the church may have been prostituted, and however inefficient it may be in any particular period of the world, it is still true, that for the extension and security of his religion a church was established by Christ, to be distinguished from the rest of the world not only by the practice, but by the profession of his religion; that it is not a mere human institution resting on the basis of utility or expediency; and that it is not to be confounded with any other body or congregation of men, not professing faith in Christ, however intimately and harmoniously it may unite with it in the support of piety, religion, and morality. It has been said that in primitive times there was no distinction between the church and congregation. But at such a time was not every member of the congregation a Christian by profession? Was any man, in primitive times, regarded as a member of the Christian church, who had not made a public profession of faith in the Christian religion? Was any one regarded as a member of the Christian church, who did not in some public way recognise the divine authority of Jesus Christ?

As the church owes its establishment to Christ, so in regard to its terms of membership it is subject to none but him. He has set before all men an open door, and no man can shut it.

Profession of faith in the divine authority of Christ is the only just requirement for admission, scandalous and disorderly conduct the only just ground for exclusion or expulsion.

III. In addition to the personal ministry of Christ, and the establishment of a Christian society or church, the third means adopted by Christ for the diffusion of his religion was the appointment of special teachers, whose express business it should be to be witnesses of the facts on which the divine authority of his religion rests, and to make them and the religion resting upon them known to the world. And now for its bearing upon the subject of this lecture observe the spirit, the mind of Christ in the appointment of the twelve upon whom he specially relied for this purpose. See if it be not a spirit, opposed to the idea of official sanctity and power, conferred by a ceremony on a particular order of men. See if it be not a spirit opposed to distinction of ranks in the ministers of his religion. He chose them from the common people, not from the lowest class, as has sometimes been asserted, but from those, who had something to leave and to lose, when they became his apostles. But he chose them from laboring men; not from the sacred tribe of Levi, not from the holy order of, priests, but from the common people, from those who could sympathize with the people, and find access to the minds of the people. He sent them not to "Aaron's old wardrobe" to array themselves in priestly attire, to mark a holy order to which they were introduced, and to separate them from the people. He taught them to address themselves, not to the eyes, but to the minds and hearts of men. He taught them to rely upon qualifications for usefulness. The apostles of Jesus were to be with him, to see what he did, to hear what he said, and to mark the spirit with which he spoke and acted. He labored to qualify them to be teachers of the people, not priests to stand between God and the people.

Observe, too, how he discouraged everything like distinction of rank. One is your master, even Christ, says he, and all ye are brethren.* According to his mind, not only all ministers, but all Christians are of equal rank. The Christian minister is not of a higher rank or holier order than the people, more than the lecturer of a lyceum is of a different order from those, whom he addresses. He that will be greatest among you, says he, let him be your servant. He is the greatest Christian minister, who performs the most service in bringing his fel-

* Matthew xx. 26 – 28.

low men to the love and obedience of the truth. He is the hierophant of the Christian church, who exerts the best, the widest, the most enduring influence in the cause of truth and righteousness; who puts forth the mightiest power in redeeming men from the bondage of ignorance and sin, and making them the enlightened and willing subjects of the Prince of Peace.

Jesus Christ, then, would have his servants place no great value upon any ordination, but the ordination of Almighty God, manifested in the conscious possession of intellectual and spiritual qualifications for being actual Christian teachers, and in the consent of as many as are willing to hear them, and to receive from them the Christian rites.

And is not the spirit of Christ on this subject coincident with the voice of providence, with the voice of the present times? Are there not manifest indications in our land, that the ministers of Christ can retain their influence and hold upon society, only by possessing a far greater amount of useful attainments than has been required of them in past times? We live in a time when a vast amount of knowledge has been circulated among the people, and when they are eager to possess more. We need in the towns of this commonwealth, and especially in our inland towns, ministers, who can command respect by being able, in some measure, to satisfy the thirst of the people for information on subjects not immediately connected with technical theology. We need men of enlarged and liberal minds, familiar with natural, moral, and political science; capable of taking an active part in societies for mutual improvement; able to discuss in a satisfactory manner subjects which engage the attention of the public mind; men not only understanding our religion, able to explain its records, familiar with its evidences, conversant with ecclesiastical history, but capable of illustrating our religion by numerous facts and analogies drawn from the world of matter and of mind, and capable of applying their knowledge to numberless topics upon which the Christian religion has a bearing. We need Christian ministers, who shall always be in advance of the people, to whatever degree of progress they may attain. It needs no prophetic foresight to predict, that the people of New England for a century to come will not support a class of men to ring changes upon words, or to trick out trivial thoughts in a fantastic dress of language, or to pour forth

sentimental effusions resting on no basis of fact or argument; or to substitute pantheistical mysticism in place of an intelligent faith in the God of their fathers, or the bold pretensions of unaided reason in place of the well-attested claims of supernatural revelation.

But to return to the subject from which I have for a moment wandered, I would observe, that I do not maintain that the mind of Christ is opposed to appropriate religious services upon the commencement of any important undertaking; or that it is opposed to prayer or the imposition of hands, when one enters upon the duties of the Christian ministry. Jesus laid his own hands upon little children when he blessed them, and he spent the night in prayer to God, before he appointed his twelve apostles. What I do maintain is, that Christ was opposed to the idea that prayer or the imposition of hands by any man, or any class of men, conferred any official sanctity or authority. He would have his ministers feel that they are called of God, by the conscious possession of qualifications for the instruction and improvement of their fellow men; that they should partake of the character of the Jewish prophets, possessing the spirit of him who exclaimed,

> His word is in my heart like a burning fire, shut up in my bones,
> And I am weary with forbearing,
> And I cannot refrain —*

rather than of the Jewish priests, an order borrowed, in accommodation to Jewish weakness, from Egyptian heathenism, who took much upon themselves because they were the sons of Levi, and too often imitated the first of the order, who, instead of keeping the people from idolatry, actually made for them the golden calf.

From the cursory view we have taken of the means which Christ adopted to establish his religion in the world, we derive an argument against the idea of a peculiar official sanctity, or inherent official authority, to be conferred by one person upon another; against the spirit which attaches importance to the mode in which a Christian teacher is introduced into his office; against the spirit which underrates the capacity of the people for self-government. We have made it probable to those, who judge, not from the letter which killeth, but from the spirit

* Jer. xx. 9.

which giveth life, that as the founder of our religion not only established no hierarchy, appointed no form of ordination, and gave no directions as to the persons who should peform it, so he never meant that his Apostles should make regulations upon the subject, binding all succeeding ages, as by the authority of God. The fair conclusion is, that he meant to leave the matter to the reason and judgment of those who should believe on his name, in the confidence that those would arise who should feel called of God to be Christian teachers by the conscious possession of qualifications for the office, and that those, who were wise enough to receive his religion, would be wise enough to adopt the necessary means to guard themselves from imposition in regard to the qualifications of professed religious teachers, and wise enough to see that they were inducted into office by appropriate religious services. When I consider the mind of Christ manifested in the means adopted by him for the advancement of his religion, the spirit which attaches a peculiar sanctity to any class or caste of men, or which attaches importance to the mode or the persons by which they are inducted into office, appears to me as inconsistent with it, as would be the blood of victims, the flames of altars, and the smoke of incense in our houses of worship.

I am aware that it may be thought by some, that I have scarcely touched upon my subject, and that my remarks have been directed against a spirit which exists in other denominations of Christians besides the Episcopalian. And this last remark is true. I am aware that Episcopalians do not appeal to the instructions or history of the founder of our religion for proof of their peculiar opinions, but to the history of the Apostles, and especially to the Epistles of Paul. It must, however, appear singular, that, if the Episcopalian views are derived from divine revelation, there should be not a word in favor of them, and so much in opposition to them, in the life and instructions of the author and finisher of our faith.

But I do not stop here. I regard the history of the Apostles, and their letters to their companions and friends, and to the early Christian churches, as valuable sources of information in regard to Christian truth and Christian institutions.

Respecting the information to be derived from the Apostles in relation to this subject, it appears to me that two propositions may be established; first, that whatever directions the Apostles

gave, and whatever measures they adopted for the regulation of the concerns of the infant church in their day, were the dictates not of divine revelation, but of necessity, or of expediency. In relation to them the Apostles acted in no other character than that of reasonable and reasoning men, and never intended to give their acts the force of divine authority, binding upon the church in all ages; and, secondly, that all the conclusions, which can be drawn from the language or practice of the Apostles, whatever be the authority which is conceded to them, are wholly unfavorable to the claims of Episcopacy.

In regard to the first proposition, it may be observed, that as religious teachers in general they are not to be considered * as standing in the place of Jesus Christ. Every casual word and action, which is recorded of them, is not to be regarded as if it proceeded from the author and finisher of our faith. The Apostles make a vast difference between themselves and their Lord and Master. They sometimes expressly tell us that they speak as men, and not with divine authority. They assembled for conference and deliberation.† They compared together their sentiments. They differed from each other in opinion in regard to matters of far higher importance than the subject of ordination. Sometimes Paul rebuked Peter;‡ and between Paul and Barnabas there was a sharp contention.§ Infallibility in their words and conduct the Apostles never claimed, and it ought not to be claimed for them. Such a claim, I apprehend, will present a serious, if not an insuperable difficulty to any one, who shall undertake to defend the divine authority of the Christian revelation. It is enough that we believe Christ to be an infallible teacher, and the Apostles qualified, by divine aid and by their nearness to their Master, to be trust-worthy expositors of the essential doctrines and duties of Christianity. In regard to regulations for the maintenance of order in the churches, a claim of divine authority is liable to the objection, which may be urged against unnecessary miracles, and may be expressed in the well known advice of Horace to a writer of fiction:

> Nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
> Inciderit.

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* It may be proper to mention, that the following remarks, and the whole argument from the *Acts* and the *Epistles*, were omitted in the delivery of the Lecture, on account of its length.

† Acts xv. 6, &c. ‡ Gal. ii. 11–14. § Acts xv. 39.

The practice of the Apostles is certainly not in all respects to be imitated, unless any one supposes that, because there was a sharp contention between Paul and Barnabas, there must be a sharp contention between all Christian ministers to the end of time.

So far as the directions and practice of the Apostles relate to church discipline and polity, we can fortify our conclusions by high Episcopalian authority. "What was used in the Apostles' times," says the learned and judicious Hooker, "the Scripture fully declareth not; so that making their times the rule and canon of church polity, ye make a rule, which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept."* And again, "'The rule of faith,' saith Tertullian, 'is but one, and that alone immovable, and impossible to be framed or cast anew.' The law of outward order and polity not so. There is no reason in the world, wherefore we should esteem it as necessary always to do, as always to believe, the same things; seeing every man knoweth that the matter of faith is constant; the matter contrariwise of action, daily changeable; especially the matter of action belonging unto church polity. Neither can I find that men of soundest judgment have any otherwise taught than that articles of belief, and things which all men must of necessity do to the end they may be saved, are either expressly set down in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward polity the church hath authority to make canons, laws, and decrees, even as we read that in the Apostles' times it did. Which kind of laws (forasmuch as they are not in themselves necessary to salvation) may after they are made be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require."†

In the appointment of deacons we are expressly told why the Apostles were induced to do it. They say it was not because they had any direction from Christ, or revelation from God, in relation to the office, but because it was a measure dictated by convenience and propriety. "It is not reason," say they, "that we should leave the word of God, and serve tables; wherefore, brethren, look ye out among you seven men,"‡ &c.

From all these considerations it follows, that though we may

* Pref. to Eccles. Polity, § 4. † Eccles. Pol. Book iii. § 10.
‡ Acts vi. 2, 3.

rely upon the Apostles as giving us the essential doctrines and duties of Christianity, we have no reason to believe that they intended to give their directions or practice, in regard to the order or instruction of the church, the force of divine authority. The measures which they adopted may have been the best in the circumstances of the church in the days of the Apostles. They may, or may not, be the best, in different circumstances of the Christian church.

These remarks I have made, however, simply because they appear to me to be just and true, and because I am unwilling to assume as a basis of argument what appears to me to be unsound; and not because I suppose that the language or example of St. Paul affords the shadow of an argument in favor of Episcopal ordination and government; in favor of a perpetual superior class of Christian ministers, whose exclusive right it is to ordain other ministers, and to govern them when ordained. I am willing to discuss the subject on any basis, which has been assumed, in regard to the authority of the language and practice of the Apostles.

The term bishop, which occurs several times in the New Testament, and which by many of the unlearned is supposed to favor modern episcopacy, is in reality opposed to it. This term, or the original for it, ἐπίσκοπος, occurs once in the Acts of the Apostles, and four times in the Epistles of Paul, and always in such a connexion as to show that it denotes a common presiding officer of a single church or society, and not a ruler of other officers of the church, or of a number of churches. The term is one of the few instances, in which the English language corresponds to the expressiveness of the Greek, and can give it a complete translation; ἐπί-σκοπος, *over-seer*. The term was given to a minister of the Christian religion to denote his duty of oversight, superintendence. Now whether the duty of oversight or superintendence was to be exercised over a single society of Christians, or over a number of ordained ministers, or of separate churches, we can only learn from the connexion, in which the term bishop, or overseer, occurs. We cannot infer it from the force of the term. Let us then examine the connexion of the passages in which the term occurs, and learn whether the bishop of the New Testament be an overseer of other Christian ministers, or of a number of churches, or only an overseer of a single Christian church.

The first passage, in which the term occurs, is in the Acts

of the Apostles, Ch. xx. 28, where St. Paul, addressing the elders or presbyters, that is, the common presiding officers of the church of Ephesus, says to them, "Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock over which the holy ghost hath made you bishops, ἐπισκόπους, to feed the church of the Lord." Here you see a single church has several bishops, and that the bishops of the New Testament were overseers, not of other ministers of the church, but of the flock, and that they are exhorted to feed, not the inferior clergy, but the church of the Lord.

You will also observe that the Apostle addresses those, whom he calls the elders or presbyters of the church of Ephesus. These elders he exhorts to take heed to the flock over which the holy ghost had made them bishops; from which it appears that the terms *elders* and *bishops* denote persons holding the same office, the former being a term of respect borrowed from Judaism, and the latter relating to their duty of overseeing, or taking the charge of a Christian church.

So in the Epistle of Paul to Titus, Ch. i. 5, 7, he says that he left him at Crete, that he might ordain elders in every city, if any be blameless, &c., for a bishop must be blameless. Here you see that the terms *elder* and *bishop* are interchanged, as entirely synonymous. Blameless elders must be appointed, because a bishop should be blameless. A similar mode of reasoning applied to the other cases,* in which the terms occur, will prove that bishops and elders were synonymous terms, applied to the same class of persons, who were overseers of a single Christian church, and not of a number of Christian ministers of inferior rank, or of a number of separate churches. I need not particularly examine the other passages, as these views have been fully admitted by some of the most distinguished divines of the Episcopal church, one of whom is Bishop Onderdonk of Pennsylvania.†

One other fact seems to be apparent from the language of the Apostle Paul, viz., that he regarded bishops, in the sense above

* 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 5; 1 Pet. ii. 25, v. 1–4.

† "The name bishop, which now designates the highest grade of the ministry, is not appropriated to this office in Scripture. That name is there given to the middle order, or presbyters; and all that we read in the New Testament concerning 'bishops,' including, of course, the words 'overseers' and 'oversight,' which have the same derivation, is to be regarded as pertaining to that middle grade." — *Episcopacy tested by Scripture*, p. 12.

explained, that is, overseers of single churches, and deacons, as the only regular and permanent officers of the church. He addresses his Epistle to the Philippians, "to all the saints that are at Philippi, with the bishops and deacons." See also 1 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 8, &c.

But it has been maintained, that, although there is no mention in the Scriptures of an order of Christian ministers of higher rank than the rest, and having authority to govern the rest *under the name of bishops*, there is mention of an order called apostles, who had, among other powers, the exclusive right of ordination; and that there is no reason for supposing that this class of Christian ministers was temporary, but that, on the contrary, there is reason to believe that the authority of the Apostles, in respect to the ordination of Christian ministers, and to the discipline and government of these ministers and the churches under their care, was to be continued in a superior order of ministers, afterwards called bishops.*

Now that the Apostles did exercise an authority in the church, which was not exercised by presbyters, or scripture bishops, and which could be exercised by others only in the character of agents, delegates, or assistants of the Apostles, is fully conceded. They or their agents may not only have *ordained*, in the technical sense, but occasionally *appointed* ministers for the early churches. But it cannot be proved that even the Apostles uniformly selected or ordained the ministers of the church. The election of deacons was made by the assembled brethren.† Delegates were also chosen by the churches to accompany an apostle.‡ When an apostle was to be appointed in the place of Judas, two were selected by all the assembled brethren, of whom one was to be appointed by lot.§ From these examples we may infer that the people were encouraged to elect their presbyters. When the Apostle Paul exhorts Timothy to appoint elders in every church, he may only mean to instruct him to see that elders are appointed, just as, when he exhorts him to assist or support widows, &c., Ch. v. 3, he means only that Timothy should take care that it was done by the churches.

That ordination, or consecration, was not performed by the Apostles exclusively, is plain from the exhortation of the Apos-

* See Onderdonk's Episcopacy tested by Scripture, pp. 15, 16.
† Acts vi. 2. ‡ Acts xv. 22. § Acts 1. 21–26.

tle to Timothy, "Neglect not the gift, that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery;" * of a company of presbyters. Timothy then was ordained by presbyters. It is true that, in 2 Tim. i. 6, we read, "Neglect not the gift of God, which is in thee by the putting on of my hands." If this verse relate to the same transaction, as that recorded in the passage last quoted, according to which Timothy is said to have received his gift by the putting on of the hands of the presbytery, it may be inferred from both passages in connexion, that in respect to this ordination, the Apostle regarded himself simply as a presbyter, one of the presbyters, which ordained Timothy. So the Apostle Peter calls himself a presbyter.† The verse in question may, however, only relate to some spiritual gift, bestowed upon Timothy upon some occasion through prayer and the imposition of the hands of the Apostle.

We have no disposition, however, to deny that the Apostles and their agents or delegates exercised a peculiar authority in the early churches, and particularly we concede that in forming a new church they might appoint and ordain its officers. The Apostles are allowed to exercise an authority over all the churches at the present day by their writings. But if the fact of the great and peculiar authority of the Apostles proves anything in favor of the claims of modern bishops, it proves that they are equal to the Apostles in all respects. And why they do not claim the name, as well as the authority of Apostles, it is not easy to perceive. If, as successors of the Apostles, they have the exclusive right to ordain, to depose, to govern inferior Christian ministers, and to administer discipline in the churches, for the same reason they have the right to appoint all the ministers of the church, and even to make new regulations, and establish a new polity at the present day. If modern bishops have succeeded to the authority of the Apostles, they have as good a right to create an order of archbishops to oversee the bishops, as the Apostles had to create an order of bishops to oversee the presbyters, or inferior ministers of the church; and finally they might create a pope to oversee the archbishops, and as the force of authority can no farther go, they must either acknowledge an infallible head in a frail child of dust, or deliver back the authority to the people, where Christ left it.

* 1 Tim. iv. 14. † 1 Pet. v. 1.

This argument for the claims of modern bishops, drawn from their pretended succession to the authority of the Apostles, is suicidal. It proves too much. If they, indeed, inherit the office of apostles, let them assume the name of apostles, and make good their claim to it, in the same way in which Paul and Peter established their commission.

The truth is, that the apostolical office was extraordinary in several respects. It was extraordinary in the circumstances, in which, and the purposes for which, the apostles were appointed; in the gifts, with which they were endowed; and in the relations, in which they stood to the first churches, as their founders. From all these circumstances united they derived an authority, which could not be transmitted, unless by express miraculous interposition, which is not pretended.

The Apostles were missionaries to all the nations. They were appointed to be witnesses of all which they heard and saw of Jesus; of his life, his miracles, his words, his death, and especially his resurrection from the dead. They were to be witnesses of these things, not to a single church only, but to all the nations. This duty of being literal witnesses for Christ was, perhaps, the most important peculiarity of the apostolic office. When the place of one of the twelve was vacated by the treachery of Judas, the appointment of a successor to him is related as follows. "Wherefore of those men, which have accompanied us all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John unto that same day when he was taken up from us, must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection."* From this verse we learn that the chief qualification for the office of an apostle, or a successor of an apostle, was to have been with Jesus Christ before his death, and to have been with him after his resurrection. St Paul gives it as one reason why he should be deemed an apostle, that he had seen Jesus Christ, his Lord.† It is evident that this peculiarity of the apostolic office was intransmissible, except by a miraculous manifestation of Jesus Christ. It appears, too, that the Apostles had the power of working miracles. They were also founders of churches, and, as such, would have a peculiar personal influence and authority over the churches founded by them. I apprehend that a modern missionary, writing to a church, of which

* Acts i. 21, 22. † 1 Cor. ix. 1.

he had been the founder, or to one of his converts, whom he had appointed as a teacher, would not be regarded as assuming authority, if he were to address them, as Paul addressed the Corinthians, or as he addressed his pupils and friends, Timothy and Titus. But such a personal influence is evidently intransmissible. And yet to have been the founders of churches was the smallest part of the claims of the Apostles to influence and authority.

From all these circumstances the Apostles would possess an influence and authority, which it was right that they should exercise in the exigences of the infant churches. But they have nowhere told us, that they have delegated their authority, as Apostles, to be possessed and exercised after their death by an order of Christian ministers of higher rank than the rest. The office of apostle was extraordinary in its nature, and required by extraordinary circumstances. From its nature it could not be transmitted, and from a change of circumstances it is not required. The writings of the New Testament very well supply its place.

It is, however, alleged by Episcopal writers, that the Apostle Paul has clearly indicated the existence of the order of diocesan bishops, whose peculiar and exclusive privilege it was to ordain, in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus. Both of these men, it seems, were companions and assistants of the Apostle in his labors for the extension of the religion of Christ. Both of them had been converted to Christianity, or at least instructed in it, by the Apostle. He calls both of them his own sons, that is, his pupils in the faith.* It appears plainly from other sources besides these Epistles, that he placed great reliance upon these, his pupils, as his aids, agents, and companions in the work of propagating the Christian religion. They were his partners and fellow helpers.†

And from the Epistles themselves it appears plainly, that whatever Paul wrote to Timothy and Titus, one of whom he had left at Ephesus and the other at Crete, he wrote to them as his assistants or agents, discharging a temporary duty, which he had left unfinished in those cities. If Timothy and Titus had been in reality permanent diocesan bishops of Ephesus and Crete, as has been alleged, why had not their duties been point-

* 1 Tim. i. 2; Titus i. 4. † 2 Cor. viii. 23.

ed out to them, when they were inaugurated to their office? The letters of the Apostle to them are plainly letters of instruction to temporary agents, clothing them for a time with apostolic authority, and designed also to be their credentials to the churches of Ephesus and Crete. These letters were, no doubt, read to the churches, and thus probably preserved from perishing with the mass of the correspondence of Timothy and Titus.

The Apostle writes to Timothy, "As I besought thee to remain at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, that thou mightest charge some to teach no other doctrine." * He does not say, that he had appointed him bishop of Ephesus; he does not exhort him to discharge well the duties of a diocesan bishop; he *beseeches* him *to remain* at Ephesus for a special purpose.

In another place he says, "I write unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly, but if I delay, that thou mightest know how to behave thyself," † &c. How plain does it appear from this verse, that Timothy was discharging a temporary duty as agent of the Apostle, subject to his special directions. Again he says, "*Till I come*, give attention to reading," ‡ &c.

Among other things the Apostle charges Timothy to "lay hands suddenly on no man." § If this relates to the ordination of elders, the charge may be given him either as temporary agent of the Apostle, or as to one of many elders, to whom the office of laying on of hands belonged, as much as to himself. It is common for congregationalists to charge a young man, whom they are introducing into the office of a Christian minister, to lay hands suddenly on no man. The same remark applies to the verse, "The things, which thou hast heard from me, amidst many witnesses, these commit thou to faithful men, who will be able to teach others also." ‖ Whether this verse relate to the imparting of religious instruction, or to the religious service of ordination, it might be addressed to a presbyter, evangelist, or common Christian minister, with as much propriety as to a diocesan bishop. In the same Epistle the Apostle writes to Timothy, "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me." ¶ And "the cloak, which I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring with thee, and the books, especially the parchments." ** These verses confirm the position that

* 1 Tim. i. 3. † Ibid. iii. 15. ‡ Ibid. iv. 13. § Ibid. v. 22.
‖ 2 Tim. ii. 2. ¶ Ibid. iv. 9. ** Ibid. iv. 13.

Timothy was left at Ephesus, as agent of the Apostle, to discharge a temporary duty. He was bishop of Ephesus no longer than the Apostle could do without his cloak, his books, and his parchments. I may also remark here, in relation to a former part of my argument, that if the Apostle had been under the direction of complete and continual inspiration, it is not easily seen, how he could have forgotten his cloak, his books, and his parchments.

Similar remarks apply to the letter of Paul to Titus. "For this cause," says he, "I left thee at Crete, that thou mightest set right the things that are wanted, and appoint elders in every city, *as I directed.*" * He does not intimate that Titus had been ordained as bishop of Crete, but that he had left him there as his assistant and agent, to attend to certain business, which he had left unfinished, according to his directions. And towards the end of the letter he tells him to endeavor to come to him shortly at Nicopolis, for he had "determined to winter there." † It is singular that any one can read these letters of the Apostle to Timothy and Titus, without being convinced, that they are written to them simply as young evangelists, his companions, assistants, and agents. But if this be so, they contain nothing in favor of a permanent order of diocesan bishops, whose exclusive right it should be to ordain, to depose, and to govern inferior Christian ministers, and to administer discipline in the churches.

The direction of Paul to Titus was, that he should *appoint* or *establish* elders in every city; καὶ καταστήσῃς κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους. The term καταστήσις denotes not the religious service of inauguration, but the act of appointment. The verse proves as clearly that Titus had the exclusive right of appointment to the eldership, as that he had that of technical ordination, or inauguration, to it. But, as I before observed, it is doubtful whether the Apostle intended anything more, than that Titus should see that elders were appointed, by encouraging the churches to appoint them.

The only remaining argument from Scripture, which has been urged in favor of episcopacy, is derived from the letters, which the author of the Apocalypse represents himself as being directed to write to the "angels" of the seven churches in Asia Minor. ‡ It is not easy to say what personages are here denoted by the term angels. When applied to human beings,

* Titus i. 5. † Ibid. iii. 12. ‡ Apoc. ch. ii.

it seems to have reference to their office of announcing the will of God. It is applied in the Old Testament to priests and to prophets, and once to the Jewish people as the prophet of the nations. It is also said that in the Hebrew synagogue the person, whose business it was to read, pray, and teach, was called שליח ציבור, the messenger, or legate, of the congregation.* So far as the term itself is concerned, it is at least as descriptive of the duty of the presiding officer of a single church, as of that of the overseer of a number of inferior ministers, or of a number of churches.

In the passage in the Apocalypse he is called the angel of the church, not of the churches, of Ephesus, &c., and it cannot be proved that there were more churches than one in either of the cities mentioned in the passage. This consideration is against the opinion that a diocesan bishop is denoted by the angel.

These angels appear to be intimately connected with the churches, and even identified with them, and to have been addressed as responsible for their condition. This consideration favors the supposition that a person intimately connected with a single congregation, rather than one whose duty it was occasionally to visit a number of different churches, was intended by the term.

On the supposition that the term has reference to human beings, the only valid objection to the supposition that it denotes the presbyter, or elder of a single church is, that it is probable that some of the churches which are mentioned had more elders than one. Thus St. Paul called together the elders of the church of Ephesus. If, therefore, by "the angel" of the church of Ephesus is denoted "the elder" of that church, it would seem, as if the practice of giving to one of the elders distinguished by age, or personal character, a special oversight over the concerns of a church, had commenced. This practice cannot elsewhere be proved to have existed in the days of the Apostles, though it probably commenced soon after their death. The standing of such a prime presbyter, *primus inter pares*, would resemble that of senior minister in churches, which have more than one, in our own times. It would be very different from that of a diocesan bishop claiming jurisdiction over several churches, and authority over the ministers of those churches.

* Vitring. de Synag. Vet. Lib. 3. p. 2. Schoetgen. Hor. Heb. et Tal. pp. 1089 – 1094.

But why may we not understand the term angel in the sense, in which it is most commonly used throughout the Scriptures, and universally in other parts of the Apocalypse? We know that the author of the Apocalypse borrowed much from the writings of the Hebrew prophets; from Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel. Now we know that in the book of Daniel angels are represented as having the charge and oversight of kingdoms, and one is represented as contending with another.* From the Jewish conceptions concerning angels it was natural, that the guardianship of the churches should be assigned them by a Christian writer imitating the style of the later Hebrew prophets. Why may we not suppose that, in the view of the writer, each of the churches had its guardian angel, who was held responsible for its condition? The blame, which is attached to the angel, is always on account of the state of the church, which is almost identified with its angel. That angels were supposed by the writer to be liable to do wrong, and to be rebuked, is plain from the fact that he represents a war as occurring in heaven between the followers of Michael, and those of Satan.† We read also in the book of Job, "He chargeth his angels with folly, or frailty."‡ Similar conceptions prevailed among the Christian fathers.§ According to Origen, the guardian angels of individuals were responsible for their conduct.‖

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* Dan. x. 13, 18, 20; xii. 1. † Apoc. xii. 7, &c.

‡ Job iv. 18. See Christian Examiner for September, 1830, p. 43.

§ "Magna dignitas animarum, ut unaquæque habeat ab ortu nativitatis in custodiam sui angelum delegatum. Unde legimus in Apocalypsi Johannis, 'Angelo Ephesi, Thyatiræ, et angelo Philadelphiæ, et angelis quatuor reliquarum ecclesiarum, scribe hæc.' Apostolus quoque præcipit velari capita in ecclesiis feminarum, propter angelos." — *Jerome* on Matt. ch. xviii.

Origen, remarking upon Micah vi. 1, 2, "Contend against the mountains, and let the hills hear thy voice," expresses the opinion that by "the mountains" are denoted angels, to whom the charge of human affairs is committed, according to Deut. xxxii. 8, and Heb. i. 14, and that they were blamed if they badly governed those that were committed to their care, as in the Apocalypse, ch. ii. and iii. Hence Jerome expresses not only the opinion, but almost the very words of Origen: "Sicut enim interdum episcopi culpa est, interdum plebis, et sæpe magister peccat, sæpe discipulus, et nonnunquam patris vitium est, nonnunquam filii, ut vel bene vel male erudiantur, ita in judicio Dei, vel ad angelos crimen referetur, si non egerint cuncta, quæ ad suum officium pertinebant, vel ad populum, si, illis universa facientibus, ipsi audire contempserint." See Huet's Origeniana, Lib. ii. § 32.

‖ Spencer ad Origenis libros contra Celsum, p. 82.

We have thus seen that the exclusive claims of Episcopacy in regard to the ordination of Christian ministers, have no support in the instructions of Christ and his apostles. On the contrary, we have found much in the records of the Christian revelation that is inconsistent with those claims.

One other source of evidence on this subject is usually referred to, namely, the early history of the church, and the testimony of the ancient Christian fathers. But to undertake to establish, in a part of a single lecture, the genuineness, the meaning, and the consistency of the ancient Christian fathers, would be an idle attempt. It is not pretended that any of the fathers profess to have received from the Apostles, that Episcopal ordination was a divine institution, or that they knew more upon the subject than we may learn from the New Testament. Whatever practice has the testimony of antiquity in its favor, the question still remains, whether this practice is of divine or human origin; a question, which can be decided only by recurrence to the Christian Scriptures. If the practice be of human origin, antiquity is no argument in its favor, unless experience have proved it to be a safe and good practice. What may have been, or appeared to be, good at first, and in certain circumstances, may have been proved by the experience of ages to be unsafe and dangerous. If any mere men are to be followed as fathers, or authoritative guides, in matters of church government, I should choose to follow the pilgrim fathers, who had had some practical acquaintance with a hierarchy, and knew by experience what religious institutions were most favorable to freedom and to peace.

I will, therefore, in relation to the bearing of ecclesiastical history upon this subject, only assert what I believe to be true, and to have been demonstrated by many writers. 1. It cannot be shown that the order of diocesan bishops existed during the first two centuries of the Christian era. If, during that period, bishops are mentioned, it is in such a connexion as to show that they were only overseers of single churches, or moderators amongst presbyters equal to themselves in authority, having no connexion with more than one church, and no exclusive right to ordain Christian ministers. 2. It can be shown that diocesan Episcopacy had a human origin, and a gradual progress. It can be shown that it naturally arose from the circumstances of the early churches, from certain tendencies in human nature on

the part of ministers and people, and from the influence of Jewish and heathen institutions. "From prime-presbyters arose city-bishops; from city-bishops, diocesan ones; from diocesan bishops, metropolitans; from metropolitans, patriarchs; and finally, at the top of all, his holiness the pope, claiming the character of universal head of the church."*

If it be true, then, that no particular mode of ordination has been enjoined by divine Revelation, and if whatever hints of Apostolic practice occur in the New Testament are wholly unfavorable to the Episcopal claim, then the question of the validity of any mode of ordination resolves itself into a question of utility and expediency. In the absence of divine revelation, that mode of ordination is valid, which secures its end, namely, the furnishing of the church with able and pious ministers, and the promotion of Christian truth and holiness throughout the world. And that mode is best which best agrees with the spirit of Christ, and best answers its end. The experience of two centuries has proved that the practice of New England is as effectual as any other to secure the end of all Christian institutions, and is therefore valid. It will not be denied that the congregational ministers of New England have done as much for the promotion of Christian knowledge, virtue, and piety within the sphere of their influence, and have contributed as much to our theological, and even our general literature, as those of any other denomination in our land. Congregational ordination, then, is valid, because it is efficient. It answers its end.

I will not undertake to say, how much better it is than any other mode. It has in my view the preference, because it invests no class of men with unnecessary power. It is most favorable to the freedom of the soul, and to the progress of truth. According to the New England theory of congregational ordination, every church is entirely independent, not only of the state, but of every other church, and of every class of ministers, whether bishops or presbyters. It acknowledges no authority under Christ, but what is derived from itself. It has no connexion with any other church, or the ministers of any other church, but that of Christian sympathy and charity.

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* Chauncy's Dudleian Lecture. See also his Views of Episcopacy. Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History, § 29, 52, 66. Christian Examiner for Nov. 1834, p. 180, &c.

Every congregational church is esteemed competent not only to elect, but to ordain, or induct into office, its own officers. "If the people may elect," says the Cambridge Platform, "which is the greater, and that wherein the substance of the office doth consist, they may much more ordain, which is the less, and but the accomplishment of the other." Ordination is merely an appropriate religious service, adapted to produce a good effect upon the subject, and the witnesses, of it, consisting of prayer for a divine blessing upon the person ordained, and the imposition of the hands of the ordainers upon his head, a common Jewish ceremony used to designate the person upon whom a blessing was invoked, and perhaps to set forth the confident assurance that a blessing would be bestowed in answer to prayer. There is nothing in the nature of the service to show, why it should not be performed by any pious and intelligent members of a Christian church. It has, however, been the almost universal practice of the congregational churches of New England to have the services of ordination performed by ordained ministers, invited by the church or society for the purpose. And this is well, provided they maintain and assert their entire independence, when occasion calls for it, and do not allow a human custom to be converted into a divine institution. It is evident that an imagined religious necessity for ordination by a bishop or a presbytery might present a serious obstacle to the progress and profession of the truth. A society, changing its religious opinions, and having the ordination of the teacher of their choice denied them by a bishop, or a presbytery, would be in more unpleasant circumstances, than if they had always asserted the competency of every church to ordain as well as to choose its own ministers. The fundamental congregational principle of the right of ordination by the churches, either by their own members, or by persons of their own choice, is invaluable. It is the only security of the independence of the churches.

There is no reason why any Christian church should be under the government, either of its own ministers, or of other ministers, or of other churches, or all the churches. It is perfectly competent to govern itself. Its purposes do not require any foreign jurisdiction. Every Christian church is a society for mutual improvement, of which all the members are bound by their profession to help each other in Christian knowledge and Christian excellence, and of which he who is employed as the stated religious teacher is bound to devote all his time, and all his

powers to its spiritual advancement. In regard to authority, the minister of a congregational church is but one of the brethren, acting by courtesy as moderator in their meetings, but obliged to put all motions that are made, and having no negative upon the voice of the church. Ecclesiastical councils have no power, but what is given them as arbitrators by the parties which call them, or by the civil law. A congregational church will receive nothing from any foreign source but advice.

If a Christian society esteems itself ill-qualified to judge of the capacity or attainments of a candidate for the ministry, it may be well for it to take the advice of a modern bishop; better, of an ecclesiastical council of presbyters, or scripture bishops. This has been, in past times, and may be still, a good practice. But it is not the only mode of ascertaining the qualifications of a candidate. A recommendation from the professors of a well-conducted theological school would have more weight with me, than the imposition of the hands of forty bishops, or a hundred presbyters, upon the head of the candidate.

Judging from loose impressions of the analogies of civil government, some may condemn the congregational plan as too democratic. But it is not more democratic than is warranted by the lessons of ecclesiastical history, which shows that nearly all the dissensions and crimes, which have disgraced the Christian church, have arisen from too much government. The principal objects of civil government and of Christianity are entirely different. The former has to do with outward actions. Its object is to restrain, to protect the rights of persons and property from outward aggression, to secure outward conveniences and opportunities. Christianity has to do with the inner man, the understanding, the conscience, the heart, and therefore needs no influence, but that of truth and persuasion. The genuine disciples of Christ are a willing people. They follow their heavenly shepherd voluntarily, because they know his voice; and no other voice of authority, but his, do they know.

There is no such need of a hierarchy, as of a strong civil government. When Mr. Burke said that he would have the Christian religion "lift its mitred head in courts and parliaments," it was because he regarded it as a part and parcel of civil government, and lost sight of the spirit of Christ, and the very nature of religion. Much more truly was it said by a greater man than Edmund Burke, that "such a ministry as is founded upon the points and terms of superiority, and nests itself in

worldly honors, will draw to it, as we see it doth, such a religion as runs back again to the old pomp and glory of the flesh; for doubtless there is a certain attraction and magnetic force betwixt the religion and the ministerial form thereof. If the religion be pure, spiritual, simple, and lowly, as the gospel most truly is, such must the face of the ministry be. And in like manner, if the form of the ministry be grounded in the worldly degrees of authority, honor, temporal jurisdiction, we see with our eyes it will turn the inward power and purity of the gospel into the outward carnality of the law; evaporating and exhaling the internal worship into empty conformities, and gay shows." *

While we set a just value upon what has been done by our ancestors for the independence of separate churches, and for putting it out of the power of a hierarchy to oppress or perplex all the churches in the land at once, we acknowledge that they did not attain the true idea of Christian liberty, the freedom of individual conscience. This in fact cannot be secured by any institutions, or constitutions. A majority of an independent church have it in their power to oppress individual conscience, as effectually as a bishop, or a presbytery. The difference is only in the extent to which such a power can be exerted. It is but too true, that congregational churches have imposed shackles upon the individual soul by means of creeds and church censures, and that they do it at the present day. And for one, I should be as willing to have my faith and conscience in the keeping of a bishop, a presbytery, a convocation, a general assembly, or the holy father of Rome, as in that of the majority of an independent church, in a place where my lot in life may be cast. Our ancestors have been jealous enough of the domination of the state over the church, and of one church over another. They have maintained the independence of separate churches. But independence of foreign control does not necessarily secure individual freedom in a church, or a country. There is no true individual freedom, where dissent from the opinions of a majority of a church is treated as a crime, as it has been, and is now, in many of the congregational churches in New England.

It is said, to be sure, that a man may leave the church, whose creed and usages he does not like, and join another. So a Turk may quit his country; but does this prove that there is freedom

* Selections from Milton's Prose Works, Vol. I. p. 109.

in the dominions of the Sultan? In many places a person cannot enjoy Christian privileges, except with a church from a majority of which he may differ in his opinions.

Besides, it is not true that a person is permitted to leave many of the churches in good standing. He must be warned, tried, censured, excommunicated, and thrust out. And the pain thus inflicted will be greater or less, according to the sensibility of the individual, and the state of public sentiment. In some places, such a proceeding will be regarded with contempt. In others, it will operate like the deprivation of caste in India, or the interdiction of fire and water, and make one the object of abhorrence to the community for qualities, which ought to engage their highest esteem.

Individual freedom, freedom of conscience, freedom of thought, freedom of speech and of writing, can be secured by no forms of ecclesiastical or civil society. It depends upon a correct understanding, and a just appreciation of the principles of civil and Christian liberty in the body of the people. Where the living spirit of freedom and toleration does not exist in a community, an attorney general may suppress religious discussion, and stop the pens of theologians, by his denunciations, as effectually as an inquisitor general by his faggots.

In regard to the church of Christ, the only foundation of Christian liberty is the prevalence of the principle, that every one, in whatever community he may be placed, has a right to enjoy Christian privileges, when he professes his faith in the Christian religion, as he understands it, and believes that Christ taught it.* There is no supreme tribunal to decide what Christianity is, but the tribunal of the individual conscience. Any church, which repels or excludes an individual from its communion, who is willing to profess his faith

* President Wayland, in his valuable essay on Human Responsibility, p. 132, having stated that every individual church is "under obligations to leave to the conscience of every member precisely what Christ has left to his conscience; and a man, when he joins a church, submits himself to the laws of Christ and to no other," says, with no little inconsistency, on the next page, "it is not to be forgotten that a man, when he joins a church, professes to understand the doctrines and precepts of Christ, *as that church understands them.*" Considered as a statement of fact, this is far from being correct; considered as a statement of principle, it is without foundation in the Christian Religion, and would in many places, even in extensive regions of country, deprive true Christians of Christian privileges.

in the Christian religion, as he understands it, and believes that Christ taught it, is guilty of a violation of the principles on which the Christian church was founded, and acts in opposition to the spirit of Christ, which is a spirit of liberty. For where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. And any individual, who is afraid of inquiry, and of avowing his opinions, lest he should incur the censure of the majority of a congregational church, is as truly in a state of spiritual slavery, as if he were under the government of the bishop of Rome.

Indeed, there is good reason to believe, that, so far as doctrinal opinions are concerned, there is more freedom of religious discussion in Catholic, as well as Protestant Germany, at the present day, than in republican Massachusetts. One cause of this fact may be the prevalence of religious indifference upon the continent of Europe. Another cause, I apprehend, is, that the value of mental freedom is better understood, more deeply felt, and more widely acknowledged in Germany than in our own country. Intolerance, I fear, prevails to an alarming extent in our land, and with it, its concomitant sin of hypocrisy.

But is there not danger of licentiousness of discussion? Is there not danger that the faith of the multitude may be weakened, or undermined, by a too free discussion of religious subjects? Undoubtedly, there is danger. But there is more danger, I apprehend, from the suppression, or denunciation, of free discussion. In the former case, you may corrupt the heads of hearers or readers; in the latter, you corrupt the hearts of speakers and writers. You poison the fountains of instruction. In my opinion the besetting sin of Christian teachers always has been, is now, and always will be, the sin of hypocrisy, rather than that of too hasty a publication of new opinions. Nothing can be worse for the community, or for the Christian church, than the necessity of esoteric and exoteric opinions; one set to be whispered in theological seminaries, and another to be preached or printed for the world; the truth to be kept as a luxury for theologians, and delusion to be dealt out to the people.

The want of the publication of correct opinions relating to the true character and use of the Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament, is, in my view, the cause of more infidelity, than any of the labors of its advocates. And it is worthy of consideration whether unbelief in a future state of retribution has not gained ground more rapidly in our country, than it

would have done, if enlightened theologians, and enlightened men, had preached and published more freely their settled convictions relating to the future condition and destination of man.

Without doubt a deep responsibleness rests upon every one, who undertakes to publish his sentiments to the world, especially when they differ from the popular belief. A man may sin against his own soul, against his fellow-men, and against God, by the publication of crude and hasty opinions. Let such opinions be exposed, or even ridiculed. Let incorrect opinions be rejected, or refuted. Let not the young be swift to publish the new views, which captivate them. If sound, they will not spoil by being kept, even to the ninth year. But let no censure be inflicted upon any one, who gives evidence of deep thought, diligent research, and conscientious fidelity, whatever may be the nature of the opinions, which he advances. Let every one be encouraged to bring forth from the depths of his soul the fruits of his meditations and researches, without fear of being made a victim to popular prejudice through the denunciations of the magistrate, the press, or the church. In this way alone will a genuine, vigorous Christian faith arise out of the present chaos of unsettled opinions throughout the world. Thus alone will the truth extend its triumphs, and bring into subjection to its divine power the intelligent, as well as the simple, the profound inquirer, as well as the confiding child. Thus shall he reign, whose right it is to reign, over the convinced understanding, the willing soul, the obedient heart. Even so come, Lord Jesus! Come quickly!

ART. V. — *The Principles and Results of the Ministry at Large, in Boston.* By JOSEPH TUCKERMAN. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 327.

THIS book treats of the moral dangers and needs of cities, how they are met by the institution in question, its claims to closer application and wider extension, and the great principles of Christian union and progress it should embody. It is a book of peculiar interest, as being the result of personal expe-

rience and convictions fixed deep by actual knowledge. As a testimony to the joy and hope of spiritual toil in the most unpromising fields, it is of great value. The curious of new ideas and the critical in matters of rhetoric it may not please, but it will quicken the heart of piety and philanthropy.

The ministry at large seems to us the noblest expression of that idea of moral culture, which more than any other marks the age. The workings of this idea are seen everywhere in the increasing reverence for moral above intellectual greatness; in the preference of more pure and healthful compositions than the passionate literature of the school of Byron and Bulwer; in efforts, as in the Prussian dominions, to make education a science, with religion for its prime subject; in the higher tone of the public displays of young men in colleges; in enthusiasm upon the cardinal question of true manhood and a holy life, more than upon questions in natural philosophy and learning; and lastly in the present remarkable agitation of points of moral principle, respecting Temperance, Sunday Schools, Peace, the emancipation of the Slave, preaching to the Poor. Some of these workings are deformed by extravagances and visionary schemes and unrighteous instruments. And thus many justify their selfish clamor against all reform. But no crusade can prosper against the striving of moral principle. Let it be purified, but not warred against, for it must conquer.

The ministry at large seems to us one of the most quiet and effectual charities of the age. Away from public glare, it studies the wants of individual sufferers. Instead of imposing a pledge, it strengthens the moral will. Without concerted attempts to alter the whole face of society, it nourishes the private virtue of thousands. We have just been reading letters from the prison and the sea, that give thrilling proof of its influence, — and there is an account in the volume before us of the moral hold that may be gotten over criminals, that should touch our sensibilities. This ministry grew out of the undeniable fact, criticise as we may any numerical statements of it, that a large proportion of the inhabitants in this city had no means of Christian instruction. Catholicism in theory includes all under its confessional. Protestantism is the religion of liberty, and leaves multitudes without its pale. To reach some of these among us was the aim of the first conceiver of the ministry at large. He was passed with averted eye by some, who thought it a dreamy project to expect quiet visiting among a few dwell-

ings of poor persons would produce a palpable extension of the domain of Christianity. But this unlikely experiment now shows its fruit in two noble chapels devoted in every corner to Christian uses, centres of influence on a thousand homes, in the assignment by city authority of a piece of ground for a third, in the zealous performance of its ministers, in aspirations of young men to the work, and in a life and interest through all its operations unsurpassed by anything in the regular churches. The same influence in New York is co-extensive with the city, though not all under the name of this ministry. It has been sensibly felt in England. And there are some indications it may be introduced into other places in our own country.

And let none be offended at what they may think enthusiastic exaggerations of the importance of this particular work. The object to which one devotes his life fills his vision. We believe the sincere Christian laborer is equally accepted in whatever sphere, whether he illustrate the evidences of Christianity, or the character of Christ, or the old dispensation, — whether he be an artist or traveller, a merchant or mechanic. It is not the occupation, but the degree in which the moral element is shown through it, which makes him acceptable. And surely through nothing has it been shown more abundantly than the ministry at large.

The whole idea of this ministry has been objected to as separating rich and poor. But in fact it is reuniting what has been separated indeed, raising the levels of poverty, lowering the summits of pride. When we consider from what social rank have risen some of those who have exercised it, whence the young teachers, men and maidens, in its Sunday and sewing schools, and what the position of a multitude of families, that give sympathy and help, we shall see that so far from dividing the classes of society, it is realizing the hope of the Savior's prayer, that all might be one.

This ministry is honorable indeed to the denomination of Christians that gave it birth, and to the particular churches associated for its support. But does not its past service and present state demand a more thorough provision for its support? Much as we like the self-sacrifice of those who have entered it, a minister at large must have a subsistence. And we cannot expect ability will be drawn to this work, without a respectable support even as a token of sympathy. Circumstances enable some nobly to do with less, but others would gladly

come, in regard to whom all the more should the principle be applied, that the laborer is worthy of his hire. And what is money in comparison with the persuasion to kindle and the sympathy to soothe the bruised hearts beating beneath unnumbered roofs! It may be thought, men should be willing to sacrifice themselves in such a cause; but should we be willing to sacrifice them in such a cause! Dr. Tuckerman has given in his book some hints of a new plan, to which we would ask a candid consideration. It does not become us to express an opinion upon details, that wiser judgments might overrule.

In considering the ministry's claim to further aid or establishment elsewhere, the question has always been urged, and justly, as to its actual results. Here it should be considered that its aim is moral; not so much to subdue the cries of physical pain, as "those groanings that cannot be uttered," — the heart-sickness of ignorance and vice, of which most outward distresses are but varying symptoms. The ministers at large are indeed to some extent almoners, for actual suffering has its imperative claim, and misfortune sometimes is worthy of aid. But this is incidental and superficial. The aim is to cure the moral disease, which poor laws, alms-houses, and societies for widows and orphans have so generally neglected. Poverty and toil and natural pains it does not consider evils, but God's discipline. It would not produce that "pleasing land of drowsy head" shown in many a rich man's "Castle of Indolence." But it expounds the mercy that made the earth a mass of stones and dirt, instead of a universal garden, and it shows every blow of honest labor developing an energy of soul, that enables the poor man to pity the pale afternoon-lounger and morning-sleeper. Its aim is not the low pretence of a selfish politics to equalize men's condition, but to show that condition itself depends mainly on character, — and that not he who has the greatest estate most enjoys the world, but he who dwelling in this immense common of all nature is most excited to love and to pray. It would do away with that love of money, which is the root of all evil, among poor as well as rich; for the poor man's envy appraises wealth as highly as the rich man's pride.

The results of the ministry at large are chiefly in stilling noises instead of making them, preventing histories of war instead of bringing reports of that peace, which has always been found too sublime in its subtle workings for the historian.

Wherefore should the public prints waste an exclamation-point upon the order and love, and temperance and purity, made to take the place of confusion and disobedience, drunkenness and pollution. But some things we may state with more particularity. Since the establishment of this ministry, though the city has greatly increased, street beggary has diminished one half. Crimes are often prevented, and their sources continually dried up. Pauperism is gradually passing away among the Protestant population, and poverty is less extensive and extreme. Physical suffering has been checked not so much by helping, as encouraging the needy to help themselves. There is much less for courts and jails to do, than there would be without this ministry. And moral suffering has been prevented or consoled in cases without number, and to an extent beyond calculation.

We will specify some classes of persons, and the way they have been blessed by this institution.

First, that large class of persons who are not sunk in abject poverty or misfortune, yet have not means to bear the expense involved in a connexion with our regular churches. Multitudes of these are visited and drawn into church, till their delight is in worship and religious meditation. Merely the known existence of such a place, as a Chapel open to all, does much. Its invitation to worship goes into every lane, and brings forth misery and grief to the light. Truly it is a candlestick of the Lord searching into every dark place.

Then there are constantly occurring *unfortunate* persons. They have got along very well without the institutions of religion, with idle or passionate sabbaths and prayerless homes, until abject poverty, or sharp disease, or death entering the door awakes them to their helplessness. Then does it appear that the office of the pastor is founded in human nature. Then they welcome the services they once fled. They long for his presence to encourage them, to save them from the awfulness of anguish without hope, to console the bereaved husband, to baptize the dying child. Providence sometimes sends a succession of troubles that leave no anchor to the soul, but that fixed on the eternal shore. And we have seen persons hanging above the gulf of despair and madness by this single thread of the ministry at large.

Then in the chances and revolutions of a great city there come many *unfriended* persons. The populous street makes

them more lonely than in a desert, as they seem to walk to the lips in the flowing of social joys which they cannot taste. And when a stranger in town, unknowing where to turn his hand, discouraged by waiting, tempted to sin, is met by the minister at large, offered a seat in the Chapel, furnished perhaps with work for a livelihood, — especially when the as yet innocent one, for whom snares are laying, is placed in some respectable family, and made a worshipper in God's house, — we can forgive the minister at large his enthusiasm and his tears.

Again; the influence of the ministry at large upon *infidelity* depends not on speculation, but abundant fact. Many are the unbelievers whom it has softened to view more favorably our social Christian institutions, led into a course of religious reading and worship, and inspired in the hour of death with the hope full of glory. Infidels are prejudiced often not so much against Christianity as Christians, and they cannot resist a Christian spirit.

This institution has done a great and almost unacknowledged good to the *intemperate*, in visiting their families, persuading them to moral struggles, cheering their wives and children, and in extreme cases relieving these from the dead weight and furious passion of drunkenness, by procuring for the head of the family an abode in the house of correction. Sometimes it has undoubtedly prevented the most dreadful crimes. And how much better the spiritual influence by which it has sometimes reformed the drunkard, than the jail and gallows of government, or the necessarily more superficial influence of an association, extensive and blessed in some respects as this may be.

This ministry has been a great blessing to the *sick* among the poor. The relief given to these by the Dispensary is an honor to the city. But sickness is something more than a disorder in the body. It is vitally related to the well-being of the soul. The minister at large explains its meaning, that it may heal the spirit while it wastes the frame. And we know that some of the noblest examples of patient suffering, working out immortal joy, cheer his efforts.

One of the most touching benefits of the ministry at large is to *children*. There is no more mournful sight than of the young breathing an atmosphere of physical and moral pollution, sucking in poison with their mothers' milk, and growing

up for degradation and crime by an irresistible necessity. It is a reproach to the Christian and the citizen that cries to be wiped away. There is no holier work on which angels and God can look down with more pleasure than their rescue, which this institution is continually affording, by collecting them in Sunday Schools, sending them to the children's friend's asylum, the female orphan's asylum, the house of reformation, and the farm school. With the Chapel in Pitts street are connected in some way of instruction about six hundred children, with nearly one hundred teachers, besides a society of young men for "mutual improvement in knowledge and virtue." A very large number of children and teachers is connected with the Chapel in Warren street, all whose operations bear chiefly on the education of the young. Mr. Sargent, who visits in about three hundred families, has collected in the Sabbath school about one hundred and thirty children. Mr. Waterston, who labors in the north part of the city, holds two religious services for children every Sunday, in addition to the Sunday school, and the average attendance in his school is almost one hundred and forty. Those, who would be informed more particularly of the late operations of the ministry at large, are referred to the "Fourth Annual Report of the central board of the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches."

And almost as affecting is the cheering this ministry gives to the *Aged*, to whom weakness and sickness allow little relief, such as the young may get, from the discomforts of their dark, narrow, and damp abodes. What a moral advance in society is signified, by this one fact of the change from the practice of savage wandering tribes leaving the old behind to perish, and a Christian ministry visiting, soothing, and gladdening with immortal hopes their last days.

But much of the good influence of this ministry is connected with the chapel, as well as visiting. The joys of public worship, the collection of families, ordinarily less bound together than the rich, into one family, the great refreshment from labor, which makes Sunday emphatically a day of rest to them, the prevention of much crime, profaneness, and reveling, which leisure would occasion, by absorbing their minds in the noblest of all acts, — and the drawing of those, who have been kindly visited at home, to receive solemn inculcations of duty in the house of God, — together with the awakenings of conscience

and convictions of duty often there first produced, — show how important an instrument is the Chapel to the ministry at large.

We regret that the claims of this Charity cannot be presented with their just force to the public, they depend so much upon details which there is no space to give. But every general statement here made could be backed by a long array of particular cases. And they, who would learn the real work which the ministry at large is doing, should apply to those actively engaged in its service, such as Mr. Gray, Mr. Barnard, Mr. Sargent, and Mr. Waterston. The highest principles of morality are involved in the minutiæ of daily life.

The ministry at large exerts a highly important influence upon the rich, as well as the poor. They have been chiefly concerned in establishing it, and they have been rewarded for their labor of love, not only in the greater quiet of the streets, security of their property and dwellings, moral safety and often occupation in goood works of their children, but in their own bosoms. The tendencies to caste and accumulation have been checked, the true objects of society and life kept more steadily in view, purifying the morality of business, and the essential equality of men shown by the actual results of culture. Many of the rich have been blessed by the engagement of their personal sympathies and active aid in this holy enterprise. We trust the moral amalgamation of society will go on, till men shall no longer be divided by superficial distinctions, but united in great principles, pursuits, and joys. We long for the time when men shall no longer devote themselves to mere accumulation, or sacrifice themselves to luxury, — or the young be the slaves of mammon by expectance, charmed to their undoing by the wily demon's look, before coming to his deadly embrace. We long for the time when employers and employed, journeyman and artisan, agent and operative, captain and crew, shall be bound in the bonds of good will, as well as necessity and law, with common health and happiness, — and when war and slavery shall no longer indicate the disease of the human soul. We are impatient for the time when we may witness from each to all *manners* of warmth, instead of coldness, humbleness and meekness, instead of superciliousness and pride, sincerity and truth, instead of affectation and pretension. We hail from afar the day when the *family* shall realize its design, and be an image of heavenly society; when parents shall be ambitious not only of more than making their child a good hunter or

soldier, but of more than raising him to shine in a certain rank or succeed in a profession, and desire to make him a good man who shall glorify any rank or toil! And when that true love, which cannot be confined to two bosoms, or to any restricted circle, shall be seen spreading, subtler than light or heat, from soul to soul throughout the world.

And in this view we sympathize with all the sincere moral undertakings of the day. We mourn indeed the sacrifice of individual character, and the excesses of heated sympathy. We lament to see men sunk in the host like soldiery, none standing out but ambitious leaders in their plumes. Still these undertakings are signs of life among the dead. And perhaps their great benefit is not the removal of the particular evils assailed, but the generation of spiritual strength to be applied to other evils and all iniquity, and, unconfined to one bosom or another, to spread kindling from land to land, from age to age. Who, in this view, can calculate the influence of a single soul, like Luther, Howard, Wilberforce? Their best legacy was not perhaps their reformation of the church, relief of the prisoner, manumission of the enslaved, but their regenerating influence to endure with their own immortality. Their unextinguished souls from the firmament still guide us over the sea of life. The benefit to the world of such a man as Noah Worcester lies not chiefly in his writings, which we carefully collect, but in his pure and peaceful soul, inspiring admiration, and forming its own likeness in others, travelling down to children's children, another proof of the possibility of disinterested love, and keeping the image of Jesus in the world, not as recorded on paper, but written in the fleshly tables of the heart. Let not such things be in vain. The dust virtue leaves in its coffin we follow with mournful love to the tomb, and mark its resting place with marble shrines, till our city of the dead is richer than the streets and temples of the living. But even a heathen writer could tell us there is a grander monument to the praise of goodness in the heart. Let the inscription be wrought there, and the just made perfect will recognise it, when the tombs are burst, and this earth and these heavens have passed away.

C. A. B.

ART. VI. — *Correspondence between the Hon. F. H. Elmore, one of the South Carolina Delegation in Congress, and James G. Birney, one of the Secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society.* New York: Published by the American Anti-Slavery Society. 1838. 8vo. pp. 68.

THIS "Correspondence" marks a striking and important change in the course of the Anti-Slavery movement which pervades every part of our country. Hitherto all the efforts made at the North to induce the South to abolish Slavery, and more particularly the publications of the Anti-Slavery Societies, have been repulsed with indignation, and their entrance into the slaveholding states has been opposed by protestations, resolutions, and laws. Travellers from the North, if in any way suspected of abolition principles, have had their trunks opened in search of "incendiary" publications. Nay, in one of the principal southern cities, the sanctity of the public mail has been violated by a mob, headed by some of the most influential citizens; some papers addressed to slaveholders, admonishing the slaves to submission, and the masters to repentance, were condemned by this self-constituted court of inquisition to be burned by a public auto da fe; and finally, the proceeding was justified by the chief officer, to whose care the safety of the mail was entrusted by the General Government. The more effectually to prevent the discussion of this subject from affecting the mass of the people at the South, the freedom of debate and the right of petition were infringed in Congress; and the governors and legislatures of the free states were solicited by southern governments to repress, within their own jurisdiction, all associations, assemblies, and publications, having for their object the abolition of slavery in this country.

After all these and many other attempts of the slaveholding South, to prevent the advancing tide of northern "fanaticism" from undermining the "corner-stone of the republican edifice;" after all the fierce denunciations and threats of dissolving the Union, — we find the Representatives of the slaveholding states, at the last session of Congress, raising a committee "to ascertain the intentions and progress of the Anti-Slavery Associations;" and the South Carolina member of this committee, in its behalf, addressing to the First Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society the following calm and respectful request

for authentic information on this important subject. We quote Mr. Elmore's letter from the Pamphlet that stands at the head of this article.

"WASHINGTON CITY, FEB. 16, 1838.

"To JAS. G. BIRNEY, Esq., *Cor. Sec. A. A. S. Soc.*

"Sir: — A letter from you to the Hon. John C. Calhoun, dated 29th January last, has been given to me, by him, in which you say, (in reference to the abolitionists or Anti-Slavery Societies,) 'we have nothing to conceal, — and should you desire any information as to our procedure, it will be cheerfully communicated on [my] being apprised of your wishes.' The frankness of this unsolicited offer indicates a fairness and honesty of purpose, which has caused the present communication, and which demands the same full and frank disclosure of the views with which the subjoined inquiries are proposed.

"Your letter was handed to me, in consequence of a duty assigned me by my delegation, and which requires me to procure all the authentic information I can, as to the nature and intentions of yours and similar associations, in order that we may, if we deem it advisable, lay the information before our people, so that they may be prepared to decide understandingly, as to the course it becomes them to pursue on this all-important question. If you 'have nothing to conceal,' and it is not imposing too much on, what may have been, an unguarded proffer, I will esteem your compliance as a courtesy to an opponent, and be pleased to have an opportunity to make a suitable return. And if, on the other hand, you have the least difficulty or objection, I trust you will not hesitate to withhold the information sought for, as I would not have it, unless as freely given, as it will, if deemed expedient, be freely used.

"I am, Sir,
Your ob'd't serv't,
F. H. ELMORE, of S. C."

Then follows a list of questions concerning the number, object, means, and income of the Anti-Slavery Societies in this country, and their connexion with similar foreign societies, — to which Mr. Birney returns a full and minute reply, introduced by the following remarks.

"ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, *New York*, *March* 8, 1838.

"Hon. F. H. ELMORE,
Member of Congress from S. Carolina:

"SIR, — I take pleasure in furnishing the information you have so politely asked for, in your letter of the 16th ult., in relation

to the American Anti-Slavery Society; — and trust, that this correspondence, by presenting in a sober light the objects and measures of the Society, may contribute to dispel, not only from your mind, but — if it be diffused throughout the South, — from the minds of our fellow-citizens there generally, a great deal of undeserved prejudice and groundless alarm. I cannot hesitate to believe, that such as enter on the examination of its claims to public favor, without bias, will find that it aims intelligently, not only at the promotion of the interests of the slave, but of the master, — not only at the reanimation of the Republican principles of our Constitution, but at the establishment of the Union on an enduring basis."

The impression made by this reply may be judged of from a letter of Mr. Elmore to Mr. Birney, dated Washington, May 5, 1838, from which we extract these words.

"I was induced to enter into a correspondence with you, who, by your official station and intelligence, were known to be well informed on these points, and, from your well established character for candor and fairness, would make no statements of facts which were not known or believed by you to be true. To a great extent, my end has been accomplished by your replies to my inquiries.

"We differed no wider than I expected, but that difference has been exhibited courteously."

The history and character of Mr. Birney, who now holds the most responsible office in the American Anti-Slavery Society, has become more generally known in this part of our country, by the eloquent letter that the persecution, of which Mr. Birney was the innocent object, drew forth from one to whom until then he was a stranger. The letter of the Rev. Dr. William E. Channing to Mr. Birney, occasioned by the Cincinnati mob which destroyed his printing press and threatened his life, has been so extensively read and admired, that a simple reference to it is sufficient to induce every one of our readers to receive his statements, with the same confidence with which they were relied upon by his generous antagonist from South Carolina. The ability of Mr. Birney to judge of this subject in all its bearings will be doubted by no one, who knows that he was born and educated at the South, and held a high standing as a lawyer in Alabama, and in Kentucky; and that he was himself a slaveholder, and an efficient member and agent of the Colonization Society, until the perusal of Anti-Slavery publications im-

pressed him with the duty of immediate emancipation. He liberated his slaves, who continued to work for him faithfully, as hired laborers; and relinquished his connexion with the Colonization Society, from a conviction of its obvious inability as well as professed unwillingness to extinguish, and its natural tendency to secure the existence of slavery in this country. Being persuaded that the preservation of our Union, and the still more important object for which the Union was formed, depended on the prevalence of those views of duty which he had adopted and acted out in the unconditional emancipation of his own slaves, Mr. Birney undertook the publication of the Philanthropist, at Cincinnati. Clearness of views, singleness of purpose, and devotion to the cause of humanity distinguished this publication. But while it engaged more and more the confidence and sympathy of the disinterested portion of the community, its growing popularity roused the selfish fears of those, who evidently thought more of the danger of offending their slaveholding customers and neighbors, than of the claims of their enslaved fellowmen, the liberty of the press, and the sacredness of the laws of a free state. The firmness, mildness, and Christian heroism which characterized Mr. Birney's conduct during the disgraceful reign of the Cincinnati mob, the lofty unconcern with which he continued to edit his paper under incessant threats, roused at last the community from their guilty indifference and delusion. The Philanthropist was gaining subscribers, not only in Ohio, but in every part of the country, when the American Anti-Slavery Society called for the services of its Editor, in the important office which he now holds.

We have made these remarks on the character of Mr. Birney, with a view to lay before our readers some of the statements contained in his correspondence with Mr. Elmore, concerning the present condition of the American Anti-Slavery Society,—accompanied by remarks, for which it is hardly necessary to mention, no one except the author of this article is responsible. Our object is to present the Anti-Slavery cause in the light in which it appears to the Abolitionists.

The matter contained in the replies to the fourteen questions of Mr. Elmore, may be conveniently arranged under these heads.

I. What is the number of Abolitionists, and Anti-Slavery Societies in this country?

II. What is their object?

III. What are the means by which they intend to accomplish it?

IV. What are the probable effects of the events of the last year, and especially of the action of Congress, on the hopes and efforts of the Abolitionists?

V. What connexion is there between the Anti-Slavery Societies of this country, and similar foreign societies?

We shall confine our remarks to the subjects contained in the three first questions.

I. The *number* of societies affiliated with the American Anti-Slavery Society, as reported at its last anniversary (on Tuesday immediately preceding the second Thursday in May) was one thousand three hundred and forty-six, averaging, according to the lowest estimate, not less than eighty members each, making an aggregate of one hundred and seven thousand six hundred and eighty.

"Those, who stand *ready to join* our societies on the first suitable occasion, may be set down as equal in number to those who are now *actually members*. Those, who are ready *fully to coöperate with us* in supporting the freedom of speech and the press, the right of petition, &c., may be estimated at *double*, if not *treble*, the joint numbers of those who *already are members*, and those who are *ready to become members*. The Recording Secretary of the MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY stated, a few weeks ago, that the Abolitionists in the various minor societies in that state, were one in thirty of the whole population. The proportion of Abolitionists to the whole population is greater in Massachusetts than in any other of the free states, except VERMONT, where the spirit of liberty has almost entirely escaped the corruptions which slavery has infused into it in most of her sister states, by means of commercial and other intercourse with them." — p. 11.

Mr. Birney remarks that of late the multiplication of societies has not kept pace with the progress of Anti-Slavery principles, because in proportion as these pervade the mass of the people, the organization of societies is deemed less necessary.

It is, however, not uninteresting to consider the annual numeral increase of Abolition Societies, since the year 1832. It was then that the voice of one crying in the wilderness, waxing louder and louder in the general indifference, found a response in a few hearts. A small number of men, citizens of Boston,

determined to join in the devoted labors, and to share the contumely and detestation that fastened upon the disinterested and uncompromising efforts of the obscure printer, — who had dared to take upon himself openly the office of a servant of servants. They formed the first Anti-Slavery Society in New England, January 1832. On the 4th of December 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed. From that time the number of affiliated societies has increased in the following ratio. In May 1834, there were sixty and odd auxiliaries reported. In May 1835, two hundred and twenty-five. In May 1836, five hundred and twenty-seven. In May 1837, one thousand and six. In May 1838, one thousand three hundred and forty-six.

II. The *object* of these Societies is stated in the second article of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which is in these words:

"'The object of this society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state, in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia; and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may hereafter be admitted to the Union.'

"Other objects, accompanied by a pledge of peace, are stated in the third article of the Constitution. —

"'This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, — that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never in any way countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.'"

The opposition of the abolitionists to slavery does not rest on the supposition that the slaves are not kindly treated, or that they are not happy. In many instances they undoubtedly experience all the kindness that is compatible with the unnatural condition in which they are placed by that act of fundamental unkindness, which dooms them from their birth to a state of bondage, "the continuance of which," as William Pinkney said, "is as shameful as its origin." As for the alleged happiness of the slaves, the advertisements of runaway servants, blacksmiths, carpenters, cooks, &c., which crowd every Southern newspaper, might excite some doubts with regard to the fact. But if it be true indeed, it is so much the worse. For we hold with Edmund Burke, that "nothing makes a happy slave but a degraded man. In proportion as the mind grows callous to its degradation, and all sense of manly pride is lost, the slave feels comfort." Abolitionists contend for the abolition of slavery, simply because it is absolutely wrong and morally impossible for a man to hold property in his fellow-man. But they do not speak of slavery "in the abstract," as it is called, any more than of abolition in the abstract. "A very singular kind of logic," said Mr. Garrison, in the First Annual Report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, "prevails at the present day. 'I concede,' says one, 'that slavery in the abstract is very wicked, but I am opposed to immediate abolition.' Slavery in the *abstract!* What does the objector mean? His language implies nothing else than that it is most atrocious to *think* of enslaving human beings; but in fact to buy, or sell, or hold them in fetters, is by no means sinful."

The Address of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention to the People of the United States contains the following review of slavery in a civil and religious point of view.

"The Declaration of Independence proves the unlawfulness of the government established over the slave, in the same terms in which it justifies the self-government of the free. For it asserts that all government among men derives its just powers from the *consent of the governed;* that it is instituted to secure the *inalienable rights* of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which all men are endowed *equally* by their *Creator.*

"These self-evident truths, set forth in that document of philanthropic wisdom and heroism, are borne out by the testimony of inspiration. Let us place side by side the law of the white

man, concerning his colored fellow-man, and the law of God, concerning all his children.

"God said, 'Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.' Negro slavery denies God in man; the children do not recognise their Father's likeness, because it has pleased Him to set it in a dark frame.

"The Son of God says, 'Be not ye called masters; for one is your master; one is your Father; and all ye are brethren.' This universal brotherhood, established by the God of nature, the Father of spirits, has it induced the white man, the professed Christian, to see in his colored fellow-man, a child of God, to be respected and loved by him, as he respects and loves himself? Look at the history of negro slavery. All its authentic records, all its unpublished volumes may be summed up in one sentence. The white man, the professed Christian, has treated his brother, the colored man, first, as a beast of prey, and then as a beast of burthen and of draught.

"The Son of Man farther says, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' And, 'with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.' To do unto others as we would have them do unto us, — if this be the great law of justice by which we shall be judged, — what must we think, we do not say of the *men*, for we would not interfere between them and their own consciences, — but what must we think of the *laws* of our slaveholding states and territories, which the white inhabitants have made, and which the whole country has sanctioned? The law secures to the white man, the poorest as well as the richest, whatever property he inherits, or gains by his own industry, or by exchange with others. The earnings of the slave, the fruits of his life-wasting industry, are not his own; he inherits nothing but slavery, he bequeaths nothing but slavery; he himself is the product of slave-breeding industry, a marketable and hereditable commodity. Is this doing unto others as we would have them do unto us? The ties of domestic affections, the covenant of nature which binds to each other husband and wife, parent and child, brother and sister, are acknowledged by public opinion, by the enlightened sentiment of mankind as the highest incentives to individual industry, the richest source of social enjoyment, the main support of order, mutual good will, and improvement in society. The voice of nature and of reason has sanctioned the privacy of domestic life, and has placed the law of the land like a cherub with a flaming sword before the garden of life. But the law of the land which declares the house of the white man his 'castle,'

and guards it against the threats of intruders by imprisonment and death, — the same law, like a faithless sentinel, admits to the unguarded dwelling of the colored man, every selfish and brutal passion, if it bears the color of legalized oppression. * * Resistance against violence, the natural right of self-defence, the right of the husband and the father to protect the virtue of his wife and child — if it be exercised by the colored man against the white, is deemed worthy of death. * * The simple art of reading, which enables every one to appropriate to himself what other men have done for the elevation and happiness of mankind, is withheld from the slave. The law in some parts of our country threatens death, even to the master himself, who should persist in teaching his slave to read. The safety of the slave state is thought to require this prohibition; the knowledge of the alphabet might enable the slave to find out from the Declaration of American Independence, and from the word of God, that, by Divine right, and by the fundamental law of this country, every man is a freeman. * * All civil and political power is in the hands of the white man, — the colored man has none. He is compelled to live under rulers in whose election he has no voice — under laws in whose enactment he is permitted to take no part — and under the verdict and judgment of courts which are constituted wholly by others, and where he is not allowed to defend himself by his own oath, or that of those of his own color. * * The only case of importance, in which the law acknowledges a crime committed against a slave as a crime, and threatens punishment to the offender, the case of murder, affords but feeble protection to the life of the slave. The law enables the master to free himself from punishment by shewing that the slave came to his death in consequence of moderate castigation. Nay, the law secures the offender in almost every case of offence committed by a white against a colored man, by *rejecting black testimony against white crime.*"

The abolitionists insist upon the duty of immediate, unconditional emancipation, — simply because they believe the slave is a man, and therefore has the natural and inalienable rights of a man from the first moment of his existence to the last; and therefore slavery, or property in man, being a practical denial of all the natural rights of man is absolutely wrong. The abolitionists believe in the duty of immediate and unconditional emancipation, because of the immediate and unconditional right of the slave to liberty.

Of the efforts that have been made to vindicate slavery from the word of God we shall say nothing. Such attempts appear

to us like endeavoring to reason away reason. "Is it not amazing," writes Patrick Henry, "that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country, above all others, fond of liberty, that in such an age, and such a country, we find men professing a religion the most humane, mild, gentle, and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty?"

Slavery has also been represented as an ordinance of Providence, because if not permitted by Providence it could not have been established. On the same ground, falsehood, theft, and murder must be held to be divine institutions,—if everything is to be considered as ordained, which is not rendered impossible, but is left to human free agency, to be accounted for eventually before the judgment-seat of God. More particularly when slave property has been acquired not by piracy, or purchase, but by *inheritance*, it is often represented as providential,—as if the laws of hereditary transmission were not ordinances of men; or as if any one was forced to accept an inheritance. If the law of the land calls a man to the inheritance of what cannot be the property of any man, it is not a necessity, but a temptation; and "let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God."

But what shall a slaveholder do, though convinced of his duty to liberate his slaves, if the laws of the state in which he resides forbid emancipation? This difficulty cannot appear insuperable to a true sense of duty, when there is no law that forbids taking the slaves out of the state, and thus freeing them.

It is said that the individual slaveholder is not accountable for the existence of slavery, as it is authorized by the state; and that the present generation is not accountable, because it was entailed upon them by their ancestors, upon whom the curse was fastened by their British rulers. This is the doctrine of the Original Sin, and consequent native depravity, brought out in politics, to get rid of actual, individual responsibility. Since it is at all times in the power of the majority of the citizens to alter the law of the state, or its constitution, the existence of slavery proves that the majority *wills* it; and no individual citizen is free from guilt unless he has done all that lies in him to act out these words of George Washington: "There is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I

do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it [slavery]; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is, by the legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting."

Many other objections to the final design of the abolitionists, which were first used in England to prevent the emancipation of the British West Indies, and which have since been repeated, almost literally, in this country, are becoming obsolete, since the results of that great act have shown that the faith of the philanthropist, grounded on the moral nature of man, and the teachings of political economy, is not a delusion. No one, hardly, at this time, expects to anticipate the honor of a prophet by predicting that if the slaveholders should give freedom to those from whom they have hitherto withheld it, the freedmen would not fail to prove their gratitude by taking the lives of those who have conferred on them the greatest good of life; or that they would want to run away from liberty as they now do from servitude. Experience has also shown, that with the exception of some cases in which relief should, and would be given, the abolition of slavery is a great economical gain to the slaveholder, in consequence of the higher value of real estate, the increase and superior worth of free labor, the uselessness of so many costly means of defence and safety, as well as of expensive provisions to be made for those who are not able to work, and whose support becomes the duty of their nearest relations, where slavery does not interfere between man and his first and most sacred obligations. The safety, and the economical, as well as moral advantages, which have resulted from emancipation, and more particularly from immediate emancipation in the British West Indies, have been faithfully laid before us by the work of J. A. Thome, and J. H. Kimball, entitled, Emancipation in the West Indies. The importance of this work has been justly set forth by the Rev. Dr. W. E. Channing in an article in the Christian Register. He says, "No man without reading it should undertake to pass judgment on Emancipation. Many well disposed people, both at the North and South, are possessed with vague fears of massacre and universal misrule, as the consequences of emancipation. Such ought to inquire into the cause of their alarm. They are bound to listen to the voice of *facts*, and such are given in this book. It is a great crime to doom millions of our race to brutal degradation, on the ground of unreasonable fears."

The powerful influence of this work upon public men, whose doubts have been turned by it into faith, is evident from a number of documents, particularly the letters of the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Maine, most of which are inserted in Mr. Birney's Correspondence. We quote a few passages from the letter of Governor Everett.

"I have persued this highly interesting narrative with the greatest satisfaction. The passage of a law, providing for the emancipation of nearly a million of slaves in the British colonies, seemed to afford full opportunity of bringing this momentous question to the decisive test of experience. *If the result proved satisfactory, I have never doubted that it would seal the fate of slavery throughout the civilized world.* As far as the observations of Messrs. Thome and Kimball extended, the result is of the most gratifying character. It appears to place beyond a doubt, that the experiment of immediate emancipation, adopted by the colonial Legislature of Antigua, has fully succeeded in that island; and the plan of apprenticeship in other portions of the West Indies, as well as could have been expected from the obvious inherent vices of that measure. *It has given me new views of the practicability of emancipation.* It has been effected in Antigua, as appears from unquestionable authorities contained in the work of Messrs. Thome and Kimball, not merely *without danger* to the master, but without any sacrifice of his *interest.* I cannot but think that the information collected in the volume will have a powerful effect on public opinion, not only in the northern states, but in the slaveholding states."

The history of the emancipation of Antigua furnishes also an answer to the question which has so often been pressed upon abolitionists, "What is your *plan?*" The answer has uniformly been, "We have no plan to propose." Strike out, at once and forever, from your statute books, the unjust and absurd title of Property in Man, expunge all civil inequalities grounded on difference of color, and you will find that you have yourselves devised, and matured for years, the best plan you would be able and willing to adopt for settling any difficulties, and removing all dangers, that might possibly attend or follow this important change. This well matured plan of your own device is no other than the *law of the land,* which now governs and protects its *white* inhabitants. Let the same law, that now secures both the freedom of the whites and the bondage of the

blacks, assert the equal liberty of all. And surely if the power of the state, backed as it is by the standing army and militia of the United States, is found strong enough to secure the oppression of more than one third of the inhabitants of the slaveholding South, against the most reckless and the most generous impulses of the oppressed, and against the moral influence of the public sentiment of the civilized world, — will not the same power be sufficient to support the law of liberty against those, whose criminal propensities should not be restrained by the monitions of conscience, of gratitude, and ambition, or by the cravings of hunger, which in a well-regulated community lead the most selfish to honest industry? If emancipation proved safe and salutary in the British West Indies, where the average proportion of the colored people to the white is that of seven or eight to one; where the estates are commonly entrusted to managers, whom the absence of the proprietors invests with discretionary power; where the sovereign power, that establishes and secures peace and order, resides in a distant land; and where the great majority of the planters did all they could to oppose the passage, and afterward to defeat the object of the Act of Emancipation, — if under all these unfavorable circumstances the grand experiment of raising men at once from civil nonentity to perfect equality with their oppressors has proved successful in a monarchy, why should it fail in a republic, whose political existence is founded on the acknowledgment of the inalienable rights of man?

The history of the emancipated British West Indies has brought to light the inherent vice of an intermediate state, between freedom and servitude; indeed, of anything like a plan, or contrivance, to establish the relation between the freedmen and their former masters on any other legal foundation, than that which regulates the connexion between the employer and the free laborer. Though none of the disastrous consequences predicted by the opposers of the British act of Emancipation came to pass, yet the official reports of the governors, as well as the observations of Thome and Kimball, prove the superior condition of those islands, in which the Abolition of Slavery was immediate and entire. They show, on the other hand, the great evils growing out of the apprenticeship system, which have at last induced the colonial legislatures to give up, of their own accord, the claims which the law gave to the masters, on the compulsory services of the apprentices, and to proclaim com-

plete liberty. Every act of gradual or eventual emancipation, every transition state between absolute dependence and individual responsibility, only serves to show to the partially free man that his master acknowledges the whole of his rights, while he still withholds a part. It excites discontent in the laborer, and thereby becomes dangerous to the employer.

It is not necessary after this, to speak of the unfitness of the masters in general to educate the slaves; or of the inadequacy of such an education to fit them for liberty; or of the obvious inexpediency and danger of placing them, after their present connexion is dissolved, in a situation like that of guardian and ward. There is one circumstance which those, who speak of the necessity of a previous education for liberty, do not seem sufficiently to consider, and which explains the otherwise surprising fact, that in those British Islands in which the emancipation was immediate and entire, the freedmen found at once their natural place in the new order of things, without any previous contrivance or effort. It is obvious that, in the slaveholding states, the slaves alone possess that practical education which fits men to earn their bread; they are in fact the planters, and the mechanics; and the only new thing they have to acquire in becoming free is to learn to work for themselves alone, while at present their work supports both themselves and their masters.

That part of education, then, which is most necessary to the slaves in case of immediate emancipation, for physical existence, and economical independence, they already possess. As for the highest branch of education, which raises man in the scale of moral and spiritual being, we know that Christianity in its lowest form, such as existed for centuries in barbarous Europe, is found among the slaves at the South, and generally promoted by the masters. It is that form of religion which induces men to yield implicit faith and obedience to the divine right of kings, and the infallibility of priests, and conscientiously to submit to existing evils as providential arrangements, which, in a more enlightened state of faith and conscience, they would feel bound to remove. This form of a religion which, even in its lowest estate, does not wholly lose the traits of its indwelling divinity, which assuages the private griefs of the oppressed, while it invests oppression with a sacred character, and makes the best elements of human nature the supports and ministers of its

degradation, — this menial piety is common among slaves, and generally tolerated, and even promoted by slaveholders.

This spiritual power which now protects the life of the slaveholder from attempts, which all the threats and blandishments of earthly sovereignty are not sufficient to ward off, will exert also a salutary power over the slave when set at liberty. It will make him a good subject, while he is acquiring the elements of *that* Christianity, which is not attainable in slavery, which forms the good citizen. But surely the fundamental truths of the everlasting gospel were intended for a temple frame, though they may be used advantageously to erect a prison.

After speaking of the real and only object of the Abolitionists, as declared in the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, it is hardly necessary to notice any purposes that have been imputed to them by their opponents. At times, the cry of Amalgamation, and Amalgamationists, has been raised, and reiterated, strange to say, both by the most refined circles of society, and by infuriated mobs. If the cry had been raised by the abolitionists against slaveholders, they might have pointed at the hundreds of thousands of mulattoes, in proof of their reproaches; and they might have appealed to the fact, that where the races are left free to choose for themselves, each will be found, generally, to prefer connexions of the same color. With regard to those, therefore, who join in this outcry against the abolitionists, it seems most charitable to suppose that they know not what they do; for if they did, their indignation would argue a singular opposition to legal, and comparative indifference to illegal, connexions between the two races.

The abolitionists have also been charged, sometimes by each of the two great political parties which divide the country, of making abolitionism the instrument, or allowing themselves to be made the instruments for promoting the party purposes of their opponents. A glance at the names of the members of the different Anti-Slavery Societies, as well as their repeated declarations, must convince every one of the groundlessness of this charge. Mr. Birney observes, "that on a late occasion, two of the local agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society were candidates of their respective political parties, for the office of Secretary of State, for the state of Vermont." With regard to political action, it is the decided unanimous opinion of the members of both political parties that compose the Anti-Slavery Societies, that those objects, to which alone political action ex-

tends, namely, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the Union, the abolition of the slave trade between the states, and opposition to the admittance of all slaveholding territories and foreign states to the Union, — are of greater moral importance than any of the different economical and political questions, which form the topics of party contention in the country. The most decided democrats and whigs in the Anti-Slavery ranks have declared their conscientious determination, that if of two party candidates for a political office one is favorable, and the other opposed to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, the whig will vote for the democratic candidate, and the democrat for the whig, if the candidate of the opposite party entertain correct principles on this most important subject. This mode of proceeding will cause the abolitionists, particularly where the parties are nearly equally divided, alternately to be abused, or courted. Southern statesmen will address themselves as heretofore, now to the poor men in the free states, exciting their jealousies against the rich, and persuading them that "southern slavery is the support of northern liberty;" and now to the rich, showing them that, instead of trying to free the slaves of the South, it is their interest to curtail the political privileges of the free laborers of the North; and these two opposite appeals, though occasionally coming from the same men, will find dupes, selfish and generous dupes, amongst us. But the abolitionists, if true to themselves, will hold their straight forward, independent course, till their work is finished.

III. The *means*, by which the abolitionists propose to carry their object into effect, are indicated by the object itself, and distinctly stated in the constitution of the American, and of each of the affiliated Anti-Slavery Societies. The course, which they are pledged to pursue, implies to a certain extent political, and beyond that, only moral action. Political action is confined to the questions of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the territories of the Union; the internal slave trade, and the admission of slaveholding territories and states into the Union; and it consists in petitioning Congress, and choosing public officers with a view to the abolition of slavery, as far as the jurisdiction of Congress extends.

The course of moral action laid out by the abolitionists is coextensive with the existence of servitude, and consists in

"arguments addressed to the understandings and consciences" of the slaveholders. For this purpose, they make use of the constitutional liberty of speech, and the press, and holding public assemblies; and in order to bring all the talent and energy within their reach to work together for the same end, they form societies, and raise funds for the support of lecturers and publications.

In this enumeration of means, it would be difficult to point out anything either unconstitutional or immoral. But the abolitionists have been accused of exciting the slaves to insurrection. They have challenged the proof of this assertion, and none has ever been attempted. Their constitution distinctly says, "This society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force." The same principle has been expressed and insisted upon, in all their publications and by all their lecturers. To avoid all appearance of evil, they have not only not sent any of their publications to slaves in any part of the country, but not even to colored freemen south of the city of Washington; but solely to such among the slaveholders, as from their high standing in society must prevent all suspicion of any other than honest endeavors to induce the masters of their own accord to liberate their slaves. This charge against the abolitionists is brought forward only by the most ignorant, or indifferent with regard to truth; and is not believed by any intelligent man, either at the South or North. We quote the words of General Duff Greene in the Southern Review. "We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The danger of this is remote. We believe, that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders themselves. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object." — "It is not," says Mr. Calhoun, "that we expect the abolitionists will resort to arms, will commence a crusade to deliver our slaves by force. Let me tell our friends of the South who differ from us, that the war, which the abolitionists wage against us, is of a very different character, and far more effective. It is waged not against our lives, but our character." A very large portion of abolitionists

are conscientious professors of what are termed ultra peace principles; disapproving of the use of physical force even for the purpose of personal and national self-defence. These would separate themselves, or insist on the exclusion of others from the society, in case of the slightest deviation from the peace pledge with regard to the liberation of the slaves.

In terms as explicit as those in which they condemn the use of physical force, the abolitionists disclaim all intention of political interference with slavery, as it exists in the slaveholding states. The only mode of political interference, that could be thought of, would be an attempt to abolish slavery in the slave states by an act of Congress. The second article of the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society says, "While it [this society] admits that each state, in which slavery exists, has, by the constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments," &c. The only objects of political action, proposed by the Anti-Slavery Societies, have been already enumerated, and no attempt on their part to go beyond them has ever been made. They claim the right of political action with regard to the District of Columbia, on the *same ground* on which they disclaim all political interference with the laws of the sovereign states. Is it right, then, to accuse them beforehand of an abandonment of their constitutional ground, in case they should succeed in effecting, by constitutional means, the abolition of slavery in the District? As for the declaration lately made, "that to attempt to abolish slavery in the District, *as an intermediate step* to abolishing it in the states themselves, by the federal government, or the non-slaveholding states, or their citizens, would be manifestly liable to all the objections to which a direct attempt to abolish it in the states themselves would be,"—it would be difficult to find the abolitionist that would not be willing to sign this declaration as an explicit disclaimer of all intentions of legislating for the District, *with a view to legislate for the states.*

It is for the existence of slavery, so far only as it is under the constitutional control of Congress, that the whole country, all its citizens, are directly responsible. It is for the extinction of slavery on this constitutional ground, that an ever increasing number of petitioners is seeking the ear of Congress at every session. It is true these petitions are grounded not on any local interests, but on the conviction of the intrinsic injustice of

slavery; and it certainly is the sincere desire of the petitioners, that the reasons which they assign, as well as the wished for accomplishment of their entreaty, should now or hereafter exert such a moral influence on the citizens of the slave states, as to induce them to use their sovereign power for its only legitimate object, that is, the establishment of universal justice. But the thought of political interference with the legislative action of the states is as foreign to the abolitionists of the North, as it was to the philanthropists of England, when they succeeded by the act of Parliament to put an end to West India slavery,—although they certainly hoped that the influence of their example would not be lost on the United States.

With regard to the District of Columbia, the words of the constitution, giving to Congress "power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such District," are so explicit, that until of late no doubts have been expressed, either by southern or northern statesmen, as to the right of the Federal Government to abolish slavery within the ten miles square. It is only lately, since petitions for this object began to multiply, that some southern politicians, misguided by fear, have endeavored to represent slavery in the District of Columbia, as standing on the same ground with slavery in the states. But this attempt at identifying a subject, over which Congress has exclusive jurisdiction, with one over which it has no jurisdiction whatever, is so palpable a misconception, and so sadly inconsistent with the jealous vindication of State Rights, that the new doctrine seems to have produced but a very limited or transient impression. The constitutional right being conceded, it has been said, Congress ought not to exercise it, for various reasons. One is, that the people of the District have not petitioned for or given their consent to the abolition of slavery. But the constitution gives to the citizens of the District no more right to interfere with the legislation of Congress, than to the slaves. And the abolitionists look upon the slaves as being part of the people, as well as their masters; and as they are not allowed to petition for themselves, the constituents of Congress are responsible for their being deprived of their natural rights.

It is said also, that although the original act, by which Maryland and Virginia ceded this District to the United States, was unconditional; yet if they had imagined that the power which they transferred would be used to abolish slavery there, before they themselves had done the same within their own bounda-

ries, they would not have consented to an unconditional cession. But every one, who is acquainted with the history of this transaction, knows that it was the great object of the general government in acquiring this territory, to secure for the seat of government a spot wholly withdrawn from the control of any local power, and wholly subjected to that of Congress. This object was known to those who ceded the territory. It is moreover not consistent with the history of the time, to assert that the abolition of slavery in the District is so novel a thought, that it could not be supposed to have entered the minds of the parties to that act of cession. Attempts at abolishing slavery had been made in the legislature of Virginia before that time; and the most distinguished statesmen, both of Virginia and Maryland, had publicly expressed the strongest desire to "begin the redress of this enormity," as Mr. Jefferson termed it. The same intention was evinced in the ordinance for the government of the great territory northwest of the Ohio, which was passed in 1787, by the unanimous voice of all the states present at its passage, namely, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, *Virginia*, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. This ordinance, according to the preamble, was intended "for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in said territory." The sixth article declares, that "there shall neither be slavery, nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes." The six fundamental articles of this ordinance still form the constitutional basis of the territorial governments of the United States; and being passed by a majority of slave states, of which Virginia was one, before the cession of the District of Columbia, it does not seem so very improbable, that the possibility of an attempt to abolish slavery there should have presented itself to those who made the cession, particularly as the District bears to the general government essentially the same relation as the territories of the Union. Still more, in 1785 the first Anti-Slavery Society had been organized in the city of New York, under the presidency of John Jay; and in the year 1789 the Pennsylvania Society "for promoting the Abolition of Slavery" was formed, of which Dr. Franklin was President, and Dr. Rush, Secretary. In 1790, the year of the cession of the District, a memorial of the Pennsylvania Society,

signed by Dr. Franklin as its President, was addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States. The memorialists say, that "they have observed with real satisfaction, that many important and salutary powers are vested in you for promoting the welfare and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States; and they conceive that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered without distinction of color," &c., they entreat Congress "to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom are degraded into perpetual bondage," &c., "and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men." About the same time, proceeding from the North to the borders of Virginia and Maryland, state after state abolished slavery, on the ground of its being contrary to the rights of man as acknowledged in the Declaration of Independence, and subsequently in the constitutions of the different states; and the representatives of these states, if true to their constituents, must be expected to carry the same sentiments to Congress, upon which the constitution conferred unlimited sovereignty over whatever district might by the cession of particular states be made the seat of government. Under these circumstances, and while the desire of "removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people," as it is expressed in Dr. Franklin's memorial, was strong throughout the country, would it have been considered as taking an unfair advantage, if the very first Congress after the cession had issued a prohibition of slavery in the District? The idea, then, that Congress, by cleansing its own premises from this moral and political nuisance, would offend against the spirit of the act of cession, or violate an implied faith, is altogether groundless; and the demand, that Congress should wait for Virginia and Maryland to precede them in the work of emancipation, seems as unreasonable as it would be to assert that, if the laws of those states sanctioned polygamy or duelling, Congress ought not to forbid these crimes any sooner than they would have been prohibited, if the District had remained part of Virginia and Maryland. And if these states think their peculiar institutions safe, with a border country of more than four hundred miles on the free states of Pennsylvania and Ohio, it is hardly probable that they would be endangered by the liberation of an enclosure of ten miles square, under the immediate inspection and control of the federal government.

We have dwelt longer on the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District, because this is the point upon which all political action, both of individuals, and of those northern legislatures, who have expressed their sense of the desirableness of this measure, are concentrated. A more elaborate and satisfactory investigation of this subject may be found in a series of letters, by *Wythe*, (T. D. Weld) on the Power of Congress over the District of Columbia.

The sphere of *moral* action, to which the abolitionists have devoted their efforts, embraces the slaveholding states, as well as those parts of the country which are exclusively within the reach of their political privileges. It is by appeals to the conscience, the sense of honor and of shame, the feelings of humanity, the religious principle, and the enlightened self-interest of the slaveholders, that the abolitionists hope to induce them of their own accord to do justice to their enslaved brethren. They look upon this as an enterprise in which all who are engaged in works of benevolence of any kind ought to unite. For whether they be engaged in labors for the poor, — who is so poor as the slave who may gain thousands, but cannot own anything, not even the very faculties and energies by which he gains them; or in promoting knowledge and education, — who is so much in want of information as the slave, whom the law makes it a crime to instruct; or in missions to the heathen, — who is there more in need of gospel light than the heathen of our own land, whom the law, made by Christians, deprives of the inestimable privilege to read and search the Scriptures for themselves?

The Anti-Slavery Society is sending out its publications to southern slaveholders; and many a conscience has been touched, and many have been induced, by these *lawful* means of *interference*, to give up their own slaves, and to dispose their fellow-citizens to promote the removal of this great evil. At the same time they are sending out publications and lecturers through the free states, to combat the prejudice against color, which strengthens the principle of slavery at the South, while it keeps the colored people of the North in a servile condition. They count upon all the various ties, by which the two halves of our country are connected, as so many avenues to the conscience, the reason, and the interests of the slaveholder. They believe that slavery would soon cease to exist, if the people of the free states were thoroughly convinced of the sinfulness of slavery, (not in the abstract, but as it exists by law,) and of their own duty as Christians to con-

municate the blessings they possess to those who are deprived of them. Slavery would come to an end, if those individuals who are connected with Southerners by kindred, or marriage, instead of allowing these connexions to make them apologists, should see in them the means of becoming the benefactors of their friends, by inducing them to free themselves from the greatest enemy to private virtue and domestic happiness; if the different denominations of Christians would exert themselves to spread and establish everywhere the great principle of universal brotherhood, for which the Savior laid down his life; if the statesman would use his influence in Congress, and with his political friends out of Congress, to put an end to slavery, which alone endangers the Union; if the merchant and the manufacturer would make use of their business connexions to open the eyes of their southern customers to the superior economy of free labor. It is for this reason that the Anti-Slavery Society sends forth publications and lecturers all over the free States, to induce all classes of men to avail themselves of their various friendly relations with the slaveholding South, to prove themselves the best friends both of the slave and the slaveholder, by spreading the peaceful and beneficent doctrine of voluntary emancipation.

One objection to this mode of proceeding is thus mentioned by Mr. Birney. "It has been said, that the slaveholders of the South will not yield, nor hearken to the influence of truth on this subject. We believe it not; nor give we entertainment to the slander that such an unworthy defence of them implies. We believe them *men*, that they have understandings that arguments will convince, consciences to which the appeals of justice and mercy will not be made in vain. If our principles be true, our arguments right, if slaveholders be men, and God have not delivered over our guilty country to the retributions of the oppressor, not only the *stranger* but the *native*, our success is certain."

Another objection is noticed in the Third Annual Report of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, in these words. "Abolitionists are often charged with using language unjustifiably harsh, when they speak of holding slaves as being a sin or crime. But it should be recollected that, in so doing, we are not measuring the comparative guilt of individual slaveowners, but merely declaring our opinion of the abstract moral quality of their acts. Circumstances of education and pre-

vailing custom may make slaveholding a smaller offence in one man than in another, who sees his duty more clearly. But the act of holding a human being as property is as clearly a violation of his rights, as to rob or murder him. Our object in using such language is to awaken the guilty to a sense of their transgressions."

One of the most affecting instances of this power of custom over the simplest feelings of humanity may be found in a letter of General William Eaton, which, for its eminent fitness to awaken conscientious self-examination, we will here insert. General Eaton, in a letter to his wife, speaks thus of nine hundred and twenty Sardinians, who had been captured and made slaves by the Tunisians.

"Many have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas, — remorse seizes my whole soul when I reflect, that this is indeed but a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. And yet we boast of liberty, and national justice. How frequently in the southern states of my own country, have I seen weeping mothers leading the guiltless infant to the sales with as deep anguish as if they led them to the slaughter, and yet felt my bosom tranquil in the view of these aggressions on defenceless humanity. But when I see the same enormities practised upon beings whose complexions and blood claim kindred with my own, I curse the perpetrators, and weep over the wretched victims of their rapacity. Indeed, truth and justice demand from me the confession, that the Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among professing Christians of civilized America; and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery."

It is to be regretted that in the controversy between abolitionists and anti-abolitionists the Christian precept, to "speak the truth in love," has often been violated. Vehement and abusive language has been used on both sides. But we rejoice to notice a progress toward good taste, and a more respectful and courteous course of debate; and it is for this, among other reasons, that we dwell with peculiar satisfaction on the Correspondence between Mr. Elmore and Mr. Birney, as being free from all insulting and vituperative language, without any abatement of earnestness and decision. But any case of abuse of the liberty of the press on this subject, as on every other,

comes under the general rule, that for insult and slander every one is amenable to the law; while those cases of which the law does not take cognizance are left to the correcting hand of free discussion. But to say that, by the manner in which the subject of slavery had been discussed at the North, the constitutional liberty of speech and of the press had been violated, without specifying cases or defining the constitutional limits of this liberty, is a vague assertion. In a free country, no institution can claim exemption from being made the object of unbounded praise or censure; it is only the rights of individuals, and not their passions or threats, that ought to set limits to liberty. The violent language, made use of in this controversy by some individuals and in some instances, is highly reprehensible; but not more so than that which we meet with in most of the newspapers of the two great political parties, in many theological disputes, and debates on temperance and other subjects of reform. It is time that Christians should awake to their duty to rebuke vituperation and slander wherever they find utterance; and in cases of gross abuse, for which the law offers redress, those who are aggrieved would often promote the cause of truth by recourse to the law. But to denounce free discussion is generally the proof of conscious wrong, or want of faith in the truth; and to attempt to stifle it by penal enactments, or put it down by Lynch law, is the last resort of despairing tyranny. There is nothing perhaps that has so palpably exposed the weakness of the slaveholder's position as the ill-advised and abortive attempts of southern legislatures to induce the governments of the free states to arrest the anti-slavery movement, by encroachments upon the right of free discussion. And nothing has been so effectual to spread abolition principles, as the spirit of violence that has destroyed printing presses, broken up peaceful assemblies, ruined churches, fired Pennsylvania Hall, persecuted lecturers, murdered Lovejoy, — for no other purpose than that of putting down free discussion. There is something hopeful, after all, in the fact, that when men are bent on deeds of reckless violence, the hands are found more courageous than the ears. When the Jews killed Stephen, it is mentioned that they "stopped their ears" before they ran upon and stoned him.

There are certain signs of the times which are interpreted differently by abolitionists, and their opponents. Before the slavery question was agitated in our country, slavery was gen-

erally acknowledged both by southern statesmen and theologians, and church assemblies, as a great social evil, which might be mitigated, but must be allowed to exist for fear of the consequences. In recent publications of eminent theologians, and in resolutions of ecclesiastical assemblies, the ground is taken "that the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy word; that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts, of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles." * The same change of sentiment was implied in the words of the senator from South Carolina, when he declared, that "many in the South once believed that slavery was a moral and political evil; that folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world." Now we do not believe that the sound sense and right feeling of the southern people have undergone such a change; we take it to be confined to the most conspicuous champions of the cause. But that these should have changed their ground so as to reduce the whole controversy to one of principle only, the abolitionists consider a great gain. For it applies to the statesmen, as well as the southern church, what Mr. Birney says of the recent pro-slavery professions of the latter. "To drive the slaveholding church and its members from the equivocal, the neutral position, from which they had so long successfully defended slavery,—to compel them to elevate their practice to an even height with their avowed principles, or to degrade their principles to the level of their practice, was a preliminary, necessary in the view of abolitionists, either for bringing that part of the church into the common action against slavery, or as a ground for treating it as confederate with oppressors."

It has been said that individuals have undoubtedly a right to express their thoughts and feelings freely on the subject of slavery; but that abolitionists have no right to spread over the country a host of affiliated societies, and keep up a system of agitation. Now with regard to the *right* in question it is sufficient to remark, that the right of forming associations extends just as far as that of individual action. Whatever object the individual has a right to pursue by his single exertions, he is justified in attempting to accomplish by associate effort. The

* The Charleston (S. C.) Union Presbytery.

only question then remains, whether the object of emancipation is more likely to be effected in one way, or the other. Now the great body of abolitionists are persuaded that this philanthropic enterprise, which recommends itself to the simplest feelings of justice and compassion in the child, as truly as to the benevolent wisdom of the man, requires a combination and concentration of all the intelligence and goodness that exists amongst us; and that but for the constant agitation of this subject the public sentiment would relapse into the same torpor from which, but for the anti-slavery societies, it would never have awaked, — unless it be by the horrors of a servile war, which they are striving to avert. It is a fact, that, among those engaged in this cause of simple humanity, all distinctions of sect and party are merged; that there is as little of the mere machinery of associated action as possible; that those, who are agreed on the fundamental principles laid down in the constitution of the Society, do not hesitate to express their own individual opinions, without fear of not being thought orthodox by their associates, or of presenting to the public the appearance of division in the camp; and that no individual member thinks himself, or is thought to be, responsible for any resolutions passed by the majority, any farther than they seem to him consistent with the constitution.

We are well aware of the dangers that beset all associations; and are thankful to those who have pointed them out. But with regard to that which is perhaps the greatest, the danger of cramping individual talent and energy, there is as little of it in the Anti-Slavery Society, as in any existing association. And then it ought not to be overlooked, that where a cause is carried on only by individual effort, men of uncommon talents or pretensions alone will bring forward their ideas, without the aid of free and various consultation; while an association brings into action the moderate or diffident powers of many, who would otherwise have remained silent and inactive.

We have offered some considerations in defence of the object and the means pursued by the abolitionists. We have said nothing of the "danger of dissolving the Union," because we do not believe it in danger. The only cause that creates in this country a radical opposition of principle and interest, the only real cause of disunion, is Slavery. The threats of the South are made fearful only by the fears of the North; for it must be evident to every reflecting man, that, if it were but for

the purpose of preserving the institution of slavery, the South cannot dissolve the Union.

We would gladly have added some words of praise and gratitude to those who have aided this cause by their single efforts, without being members of an Anti-Slavery Society. If it be true, that those who are associated for this purpose have suffered in the estimation of others from the fact, that some of the most eminent friends of freedom have not joined the Society, this should not prevent the former from appreciating the noble exertions of the latter. We wished to have paid some adequate tribute to what has been done for the cause of the enslaved, more particularly by the writings of Dr. William E. Channing, and Miss Martineau. But we forbear. This only would we say. We respect, we admire the man and the woman who *deserve* their extraordinary popularity; we venerate them for being ready to sacrifice it in defence of *unpopular truth.*

With regard to other points included in the inquiries of Mr. Elmore, we refer the reader to the answers of Mr. Birney. In conclusion, we would offer to the people of the free States, in behalf of the abolitionists, this consideration. If the Chairman of the Committee of the Southern Delegation in Congress did not think it derogatory to himself to inquire of their antagonists, in respectful terms, what this new doctrine is, — may we not be allowed to hope that here at the North, among their neighbors, kindred, and friends, the abolitionists may find a patient and respectful hearing, and kind and courteous treatment?

C. F.

Art. VII. — Good Sense and Eloquence.

The nature, the connexion, the importance, the conditions of these two modes of thought and expression are not easy to be fully understood. The general distinction between them is obvious. Good sense addresses the judgment; Eloquence the feelings also. Good sense enlightens; Eloquence also moves. When listening to the one, you are pleased with its faithfulness; your commendation is that "the thing is just so;" truth, which you had per-

ceived but vaguely or partially, is now exhibited complete and marked; you wonder you had not seen it as plainly before; you are sure that if you knew how to write so well, you would have said precisely the same thing. The understanding is never called to surrender itself to the conduct of the heart, but continually judges and commends, with calmness, but with satisfaction. When listening to Eloquence, on the other hand, the understanding is made to minister to the active powers; the mind is not left at leisure to affirm the truth of what is said, but is absorbed in contemplation and high purposes; "what shall I do?" you exclaim; you wonder that you have been so remiss and blind, and are kindled with a new admiration, or love, of the vast and the beautiful. Good sense in short presents things truly; Eloquence vividly. Good sense instructs; Eloquence affects.

Now there is nothing inconsistent in these two modes of mental action. When, indeed, we characterize a writer or speaker as one of strong sense, we mean to exclude higher qualities. Thus, John Foster, Paley, Tacitus are distinguished for their good sense, for their clear and strong judgment; and we should give neither of these the praise of eloquence. Yet there is nothing in their principles of composition condemnatory of it. To their good qualities a glowing copiousness, a fervid energy might be added, without detracting at all from their merit of judiciousness. It is very true that examples of a strong simultaneous and at the same time harmonious action of the judgment, imagination, and heart, are very rare. The affections are apt to cloud the truth which they adorn. But this is only because the affections are not true to nature. Rightly used, the heart helps the understanding, and receives excitement in return.

But while Eloquence is perfectly consistent with good sense, it is not confined to the same limits. Good sense concerns itself with that alone which it can define; and of course is conversant only with what is subject to its close observation. But the mind, excited by the imagination, cannot content itself with that clearly intelligible truth which lies nigh at hand, but continually aspires, and looks up into the dim and undiscovered distance. Such is the law of the human mind. We are not made to occupy ourselves always with learning better what we have learned once already; but to exercise our faculties to the very limits of their tether, looking for new realities among the

appearances of the spiritual horizon, and soaring so as to extend that horizon itself. There are some men who are very impatient of these flights; who think that all writing and speaking is valuable only so far as it is distinct and scrupulous; who call everything nonsense, which is not exact sense. A man, glowing with sublime visions, discourses to them on what he sees, or thinks he sees, of the unexplored magnificence of the upper heaven of thought; and they do not suffer themselves to be moved. They receive only what appears to them to be accurate. "Tell us precisely what you mean by this. How is this expression of yours to be reconciled with that other? Make your ideas distinct to us." Thus they say, and any irreconcilable inconsistency, much more a confession on the speaker's part, that he does not know exactly what he means himself, (a confession which a man at once aspiring and sincere, will sometimes be called to make,) stamps the whole as worthless in the minds of these censors. Now is not this very narrow? Are any discoveries to be hoped for, if we limit our view to that clear field which lies immediately about us? Is not every truth, like every outward object, indistinct in proportion to its elevation? And is it not for the noble mind frequently to turn away from those accessible objects, which good sense pleases itself with illustrating, to the dim, and often obscured, but changeless orb of heaven? Above all, the religious thinker, the true philosopher, is impatient of the bonds of logic. He knows that the highest objects of thought are those, the connexion of which with acknowledged truth is not yet clear. He knows that he can feel what he cannot prove. He spurns all bounds but those of his own nature; and is fond of sending his raised spirits up into the illimitable realms of space. And why scout such a man, because his vision is sometimes dim? It is none the less a new planet that he has discovered; because he is not able as yet to tell its diameter, or the number of its satellites. He sees a new star in the sky; and what he sees he tells. Let him be honored as a discoverer. But the worst of it is, that superiority and praise straightway beget conceit; the eye is obscured by vanity; and the next time that our philosopher announces a discovery to the world, the new star will, as likely as not, turn out to be only a glittering particle of earthy matter, which has been raised into his atmosphere by the shuffling of his own self-congratulation. Such an error may fairly amuse us. But it is better to be sometimes mistaken than to be always dull.

The field of eloquence then is wider than that of good sense, for the simple reason that the mind may be excited by that which it does not comprehend. And yet within the sphere of clear understanding, eloquence should always be faithful to judgment; for we are always more moved by what we understand, than by what we do not. Strong sense is often the chief characteristic of eloquence; and this is the source of the power of several of our most persuasive legislative orators. Notwithstanding this, however, eloquence may be very great without its faithful ally. Who will deny the consummate eloquence of Rousseau for instance; and yet who would allow him the praise of good sense? Perpetually offending against the common sense of men, yet continually surprising you with his shrewd observations on society, his sentiments corrupted by his own vices, and his judgment misled by regarding his idiosyncracies as the universal attributes of humanity, accommodating his theories to an impossible state, which is nevertheless assumed as real, but, on the other hand, with a boundless capacity for abstract truth, a sincere love of virtue, and an enthusiastic faith, — false to the world, yet true to his own convictions, the most unsafe of writers, and requiring to be watched with an indefatigable jealousy, he is so eloquently wrong, when right so genial and possessed, that while few authors offer so much instruction, or so move the heart, few can read him without danger, none profit by him without fatigue.

The secret of his power was, as he told the Jesuit priest, that he said what he thought. His writings are pervaded by a deep sincerity. If he misled others, he first thoroughly deceived himself. He had the spirit of truth; though he was so often betrayed into error. Good sense is not essential to eloquence; but this spirit of truth is. With sincere enthusiasm one may be eloquent in a bad cause. And yet, can eloquence exist *in the highest degree* without good sense? Does not error enfeeble as well as distort the mind? Does it not disturb the harmony of the faculties; cause the sympathies of the soul to contradict and counteract one another; and so produce a feverish excitement, which finds relief in returning at last even to judicious dulness? One sometimes gladly escapes from the eloquent flood of Rousseau or Byron to the terra firma of the simplest common sense. And, still more, does not the perception of any fundamental mistake in a writer or speaker immediately check the influence of his address? Is not our admiration of

Massillon, for instance, continually arrested by our dissent from his gloomy theology; and does not his great mind move with far less power, from being shackled with doctrines which good sense condemns? It would appear so. Good sense is essential to the highest eloquence; and sincerity, temporary sincerity at least, to any genuine eloquence at all.

It is very pleasing to observe how faithful human nature is to its guides. You will sometimes see a speaker exerting all the powers of his constitution under the impulse of a selfish zeal, roaring with an unmeasured capacity of lungs, while his audience remain entirely unaffected, or it may be, asleep; and then a true-hearted man will perhaps rise, and with a voice trembling from physical weakness, and scarcely audible, and a frame hardly strong enough to support itself, will move the very depths of the soul, tears will gather even on the hardened cheek, and the indifferent be roused to anxious thought. The difference between two such speakers every assembly appreciates. They perceive that it is the difference between something and nothing. The heart remains unmoved by mere physical exertion. I have seen a Franciscan monk in an Italian pulpit, spending the extreme energy of his body, striding to and fro like a lion in a cage, grasping the crucifix, embracing it, tearing his hair, foaming at the mouth, pale, trembling, his eyes distorted like a maniac's, and his auditors meanwhile occupied with asking alms of the strangers who were among them. They were only chilled by the cataract of his zeal. His speech was nought, because he was not moved by the Holy Spirit.

This bombastic style of speaking is heard mostly from ambitious imitators of distinguished orators. Thus many of the followers of Whitefield, without any of the self-sacrifice and faith which kindled such a flame within his breast, yet bent on possessing his power even without his merit, have substituted violence for energy, and extravagance for zeal, looking to their bodies for inspiration, and to language for material; not urged by the truth, but, like the horses of the Roman carnival, spurred into mad speed by their own exertions. An audience immediately perceives that this is all false fire. Ambitious worldliness never has received, nor ever will receive, the rewards of faith.

But noisy declamation is an excess very infrequent among us. We run into opposite follies. A large portion of our public speakers content themselves with an unexcited and unexciting judiciousness. Perhaps to a wise observer this would seem

to be peculiarly the case with the Unitarian pulpit. If it be so, the peculiarity is to be accounted for from the fact, that our chief business for a period has been to deny and to examine, to refute with calmness what was maintained with passion, and to reëstablish Reason on the throne from which she had been expelled. But very unfortunately, Reason seems to have been confounded with reasoning; and some of our most conscientious ministers have become jealous of everything but argument. Stirring appeals to the imagination and the heart seem to them out of place, or at least unnecessary. Their home, their friends, their country, their freedom, their lives, — these they would defend in extremity with passionate attachment. But God and Jesus, the principles of piety and of morals, though not only in danger, but violently assailed, the spiritual lives of their friends actually periled, they hold it best to defend with unexcited self-possession.

Is it a mere superficial evil that we oppose? Is not the very heart diseased? Are not the very affections, principles, faith, hopes of the people unchristian and worldly? Does not vice spread like the plague? Is not the public eye blind to the greatest realities? Does not every-day life, do not the public prints, manifest a hearty alienation from those principles which we preach? If so, what then is going to work the radical reform, which, now as well as in the days of the apostles, is the end and aim of gospel preaching? Will good sense do it? Never. "You have no hold on the passions but by the passions." * And if we are to overcome the passionate attachment which men have to the silly trifles of this showy world, it can only be by infusing into them, by means of an eloquent transmission from our own hearts, a passionate love of God and of virtue.

G. F. S.

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* "On n' a de prise sur les passions que par les passions." — *Rousseau.*

NOTICES AND INTELLIGENCE.

A History of the Presbyterian and General Baptist Churches in the West of England; with Memoirs of some of their Pastors. By JEROM MURCH, Minister of Trim Street Chapel, Bath. London: J. Mardon, Farringdon Street. 1835. 8vo. pp. 579. — Whoever wishes to obtain a correct idea of the history, principles, and prospects of English Unitarians, may safely refer to this volume, which, though it confines its notices to the Unitarian societies in the West of England only, is so minute and careful in these, that better means are furnished in it of judging of the character of the whole body, than in any other volume with which we are acquainted. It is also filled with that curious interest which belongs to antiquarian research and biographical anecdote. The history of the churches is commenced at their several fountains, which, as is well known, are generally in the old field of Presbyterianism, and, as it is followed down, is accompanied by notices of men who have played a part, more or less distinguished, in their day and generation. As we turn the pages of this book, we meet with the familiar and respected names of Toulmin, Towgood, James Peirce of Exeter, Merivale, Estlin, Butcher, Bretland, Kenrick, John Jones, Jervis, Carpenter, besides others, who though less known, deserve remembrance. We also meet with names of more domestic sound; names of those whose ministerial services have been acceptably performed in both Old and New England; of Dr. Increase Mather, who, going to England, was first settled at Great Torrington, Devonshire, then in the island of Guernsey, and then in Gloucester, before he returned to New England, where he became, as old John Dunton says, "metropolitan clergyman of that country, and rector of Harvard College;" — of Dr. Benjamin Colman, who was ordained in London, and who ministered in Bath, before he was finally settled in Brattle Street, Boston; — of Mr. Isaac Smith, who, not gifted and celebrated as those just named, has left behind him a respected memory, and who, before we knew him as the chaplain of one of our eleëmosynary institutions, was minister of the little chapel in Sidmouth, Devonshire.

That little chapel in Sidmouth, — we recollect it well. It was a most perfect specimen of a lowly house of worship. You might have passed it ten times a day, without suspecting that it was anything more than a tenantless cottage. Its low walls, entirely unadorned, were stained with a yellow wash, and its thatched roof was only ornamented with clusters of moss, which,

however, did not distinguish it from the adjoining dwellings. There it was, a common cottage, in a street of cottages, so plain that it could not possibly be plainer. How it contrasted with that beautiful old church of the establishment, with its grey stone tower rising from the midst of the picturesque church yard, through which ran a footpath among the graves, shaded by a solemn row of yew-trees, whose age was to be counted by centuries! Surely it must have been something more than whim, and better than pique, which could have induced men to leave such a church, the church of their fathers, guarded all round by their fathers' dust, and assemble in such a shed. It must have been conscience, it must have been honest conviction, it must have been a motive, which, however alloyed by meaner passion, was essentially good and noble. It is to be remembered, also, that the seceders did not, as some of those do, who "sign off" in our own land, ease themselves of a pecuniary burthen, but on the contrary increased it, being obliged to pay their full tax to the establishment, and at the same time to support their own worship. We trust that we should have respected such men, and their little hut-chapel, even though we had differed from them in religious belief, and had been unwilling to join in their worship; but as we did not differ from them in religious belief, we joined with them in their worship while we remained in Sidmouth, and should have done so if we had remained there till this time. We have no idea of deserting our friends, because they assemble under simple thatch, instead of under groined stone; though we also think that we should have been cheerfully willing to pay tithes at Sidmouth, for the pleasure we enjoyed in looking at that old church, and walking through that old churchyard.

Other reminiscences we have, which are connected with other places of worship mentioned in this volume, but space is not given us to relate them in. We cannot break off, however, without noticing one misstatement into which Mr. Murch has fallen. In a biographical notice of the Rev. William Hazlitt, father of Hazlitt the author, he says, "Mr. Hazlitt's visit to this town [Boston] was not, however, in vain; for in a short time he was chiefly instrumental in forming the first Unitarian Church at Boston." Now, though we know that Mr. Hazlitt was active in promulgating the principles of Unitarian belief, while he remained in this country, we are confident that he was *not* chiefly instrumental in forming the first Unitarian Church at Boston, whatever church that may be. If he did form any church here, it is none which is at present in existence, or of which we have ever heard.

Sermons by Rev. J. B. PITKIN, *late Pastor of the Independent Christian Church in Richmond, Va. With a Memoir of the Author.* By Rev. S. G. BULFINCH. Boston: David Reed. 1837. 12mo. pp. 352. — The writer of these sermons was one of those precocious geniuses whom their friends and the world so often combine to spoil; and Mr. Bulfinch, in the highly interesting biographical sketch which he has given us, has communicated a life-lesson which might be instructive to many. Of the subject of his Memoir he says:

"His life was a peculiar one. It may teach the young and romantic, should these pages meet the eye of any such, to avoid those dangers under which he nearly sunk. It may show the necessity of restraining, in early life, not only the passions, but the too exuberant fancy. It may present a warning to those who act as spiritual directors of others, to temper with gentleness the occasional severity of their official duty, and, like their blessed Master, not to break the bruised reed.

"But other and more cheering lessons are afforded by the life of this young divine. We see him for a time overborne by misfortune, censure, and a consciousness of error, yet not relinquishing the hope of better things, working his way upward to the light, and at length attaining and for years occupying the station of a faithful, successful, and respected minister of the Gospel; wearing out his powers in the discharge of duty, and yielding his spirit at length tranquilly to God, with entire confidence in his accepting mercy. From this the advanced Christian may learn never to despair for others; and the young struggler with temptation may acquire the more important lesson, never to despair of himself, and never to distrust the providence of God."

We certainly were much impressed ourselves with these important truths, in reading the life in which they are so vividly set forth by fact and example. Simply, clearly, and with Christian feeling, Mr. Bulfinch has spoken of his friend, and unfolded the history of his deviations, conflicts, and final victory. We do not believe that this chapter of real life can be read without profit.

Mr. Pitkin's sermons were composed after the fever of his youth was cured, and the wild dreams of that season were dreamed, and they show the operations of his maturer mind. A controversial vein runs through them, which is owing to the circumstances in which he was placed, ever surrounded by watchers and opposers. But there is no bitterness in his controversy, and the main body and substance of his discourses consist in the weightier matters of the law. They are written in a clear and manly style, which not unfrequently rises into eloquence. We look upon them as a good exhibition of what

may be called practical Unitarianism, and hesitate not to recommend them to our readers.

Vegetable Diet; as sanctioned by Medical Men, and by Experience in all Ages. By WILLIAM A. ALCOTT. Boston: Marsh, Capen, and Lyon. 1838. 12mo. pp. 276. — We regret that the incessant labors of Dr. Alcott, and the other great vegetable men of the day, have not produced a more practical and sensible effect on the meat-market. If those cannibals, who are determined to eat flesh in spite of *his* teeth, could get it at a reasonable price, we should congratulate him and ourselves on the influence of his goose-quill; but so long as we are obliged to pay for beef, pork, and chickens at the abominable rate of a shilling a pound, we fear that there is still too fierce a demand for those gross and deleterious articles, and that he will be under the necessity of writing many more books, before a proper reform is effected. Therefore we beg him to be not at all disconcerted by what some shallow people say of his rapid book-making, but to write on as fast as he can, and bring out a volume of goodly size once a month, nay, if need be, once a week, till something is done in this matter. It will take at least five or six such books as the one before us to produce any appreciable change, in opinion or prices, before Christmas. And as people will be sure to buy anything which relates to the grand subject of eating, whether it be a Cook's Oracle, or a book which would teach and persuade them to dispense with all cooks and cookery, he may be confident that his works will be bought, however fast he may supply them, and whether they contain what is palatable or unpalatable, digestible or indigestible. One piece of advice, however, we cannot refrain from offering, which is, that Dr. Alcott should keep a strict eye on the moral character of those physicians whose evidence he adduces. We are led to say this, by observing that one of them, Dr. Lambe, of London, lays it down as an axiom, that "Man is herbivorous in his structure." Now we must say, that we never saw a more palpable attempt than this, to cheat us out of our eye-teeth, which, of all kinds of knavery, is universally held to be the sharpest. His very name, moreover, begets a suspicion that he is an interested witness on the subject of food and diet. He should be quoted with great caution.

One word seriously. We have no doubt that too much meat is eaten by the people of this country; but we cannot think that Dr. Alcott's book is well calculated to make them eat less.

Buds of Spring. Poetical Remains of Augustus Foster Lyde. *With Addenda.* Boston: Perkins and Marvin. 1838. 12mo. pp. 150. — This little work is not offered to critical examination, but is simply a monument of friendship to the memory of a young man of genius and worth. As such we have looked at it with great interest, feeling that it is good even for strangers to be told of the aspiring spirits which waked for a season in our cold world, and were withdrawn before they could be known. The world, and its life, and its hopes become of more value to us in proportion as we find in it a larger number of the gifted and pure, who have been born in it for a better life. Mr. Lyde seems to have been one of these. Dying at the age of twenty-one, just as he was beginning the labors of his profession, no opportunity was allowed him to offer to men the mature fruits of his mind; but its blossoming was beautiful and full of promise; and we are pleased that the hand of a friend should gather a few of the buds and flowers, and keep his memory fresh for a time in the souls of those who loved him. If he has added to the bouquet a few similar blossoms of his own, who can blame the desire to mingle with the image of the dead the thoughts that were never separated from the living?

The story of his life is told in few words. He was born in 1813, was graduated at Washington College in 1830, studied theology in the Episcopal Seminary of New York, devoted himself to the cause of foreign missions, and sank under a feeble constitution and intense action of mind on the 19th November, 1834. There seems to have been a fine union of earnestness and delicacy in his character. His devotion to the missionary service was very fervent. The description of his last meeting with his fellow students, when he and another were to take leave, is striking.

"Exultation was the first emotion experienced, because there rose full in view the good which was to be done, by their zeal and devotion, to the Seminary in which they were educated, to the Church of Christ, and, though last, not least, to the perishing souls of men. But how changed were the feelings when he, who had been the instrument of Providence in beginning the enterprise, rose to bid his brethren adieu! To some, even then, the hand of death seemed laid upon his pallid cheek, and all could not but feel that such *might* be the case, who saw him choking with emotion, and, amid a flood of tears, scarce articulating, 'Pray for me, brethren; pray that my health may be restored; God is my witness, I ask it not for myself, — I ask it for China.' We will not stop to describe the gush of feeling which ensued. Suffice it to say, that many a manly countenance was turned away to hide the glistening signs of sympathy and affection." — pp. xvi, xvii.

We are sorry to be obliged, by the contracted space into which we are driven, to curtail our intended notice, and to omit a beautiful extract, which would show that this young man was born with a genius for more than common achievement.

An Address delivered before the Senior Class in Divinity College, Cambridge, Sunday Evening, 15 July, 1838. By RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1838. 8vo. pp. 31. — It is not likely that we should have noticed this Address, had it not received some public notice already, and caused some stir and speculation. But as we have been asked repeatedly, whether certain strange notions contained in it are regarded as good divinity by the instructers and students of the Divinity School at Cambridge, and whether the gentleman who advanced these notions is to be considered as thereby uttering or representing the opinions of the body of Unitarian ministers, we deem it right to say, and we believe we have the best authority for saying, that those notions, so far as they are intelligible, are utterly distasteful to the instructers of the School, and to Unitarian ministers generally, by whom they are esteemed to be neither good divinity nor good sense. With regard to their reception among the students, we cannot speak so positively; we merely know that the only apparent connexion between the School and these notions is, that a majority of the Senior Class, which consisted altogether of seven students, attracted by Mr. Emerson's reputation as a writer and lecturer, invited him to address them on the occasion of their leaving the School, and perhaps listened to him with pleasure, as to one who seemed to speak a new word. That the notions above referred to will be adopted by their composed thoughts, or the style in which they are expressed be imitated in their own writings, we cannot yet believe. However it may turn out, we are well convinced that the instructers of the School should hereafter guard themselves, by a right of veto on the nomination of the students, against the probability of hearing sentiments, on a public and most interesting occasion, and within their own walls, altogether repugnant to their feelings, and opposed to the whole tenor of their own teachings.

In all this we beg to be understood as not questioning the right of the author of this address to utter his own thoughts in his own way. We have no idea of raising against ourselves the cry of persecution, nor any wish whatever of adding to the present list of martyrs, nor the least desire to fetter the human mind by the bonds of prescription and antiquity. Such flagrant designs we most heartily deny and eschew. But we trust that

if any one has a right freely and boldly to say things which we do not like, we have also a right to say, as freely and boldly, that we do not like them; and we beg some of our friends to pause for a while before they pronounce this to be persecution. We regard the author of this address with feelings of respect and friendship; but when called to give our opinion of the address itself, we must speak of it, as a whole, with reprobation, plainly, as we ought to speak and have spoken.

We do not intend to enter into an examination of the objectionable portions of this performance, but as a fair specimen of its matter and manner we quote its concluding paragraph.

"I look for the hour when that supreme Beauty, which ravished the souls of those Eastern men, and chiefly of those Hebrews, and through their lips spoke oracles to all time, shall speak in the West also. The Hebrew and Greek Scriptures contain immortal sentences, that have been bread of life to millions. But they have no epical integrity; are fragmentary; are not shown in their order to the intellect. I look for the new Teacher, that shall follow so far those shining laws, that he shall see them come full circle; shall see their rounding complete grace; shall see the world to be the mirror of the soul; shall see the identity of the law of gravitation with purity of heart; and shall show that the Ought, that Duty, is one thing with Science, with Beauty, and with Joy."

The Personality of the Deity. A Sermon, preached in the Chapel of Harvard University, September 23, 1838. By HENRY WARE, JR., Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and the Pastoral care. Published at the request of the Members of the Divinity School. Boston: James Munroe and Company. 1838. 8vo. pp. 24. — It will not be necessary for us to point out to persons of the least discernment, that the character of the theology of the Cambridge School is more likely to be learned from the discourses and other publications of its professors, than from the Address which we have just noticed, containing the lucubrations of an individual who has no connexion with the School whatever. We thank the members of the School for having requested the publication of this Sermon, and we thank its author for having published it. It is good; it is seasonable. It is a strong and lucid statement of a doctrine which lies at the very foundation of religion, and will tend to disabuse the minds of many respecting the true character and tendency of a set of newly broached fancies, which, deceived by the high sounding pretensions of their proclaimers, they may have thought were about to quicken and reform the world. We extract from the sermon a short portion, in which it is shown with clearness

and brevity, that the denial of the Personality of God is in fact the denial of God.

"It also, in the next place, amounts to a virtual denial of God. Indeed, this is the only sense in which it seems possible to make that denial. No one thinks of denying the existence of principles and laws. Gravitation, order, cause and effect, truth, benevolence, — no one denies that these exist; and if these constitute the Deity, he has not been, and cannot be denied. The only denial possible is by this exclusion of a personal existence. There can be no atheism but this; and this is atheism. If the material universe rests on the laws of attraction, affinity, heat, motion, still all of them together are no Deity; if the moral universe is founded on the principles of righteousness, truth, love, neither are these the Deity. There must be some Being to put in action these principles, to exercise these attributes. To call the principles and the attributes *God*, is to violate the established use of language, and confound the common apprehensions of mankind. It is in vain to hope by so doing to escape the charge of atheism; there is no other atheism conceivable. There is a personal God, or there is none.

"We reason in this case, as in that of a man. Man was made in the image of God. But when we have described so much power, wisdom, goodness, so much beauty, justice, truth, love, we have not described a man; the very essential element is wanting; without adding personality, we may speak of these qualities forever, and they will not make a man. So, too, we may enlarge them infinitely, but unless we add personality, they will never make up the idea of God." — pp. 13, 14.

This is sense; this is truth; and this is good writing. Here is important doctrine clearly and plainly announced, so that there is no mistaking it, and so that it approves itself equally to the most and the least instructed minds. Here is a style which becomes the subject, simple, manly, straight forward. Give us such writing and such preaching as this, and defend us from the wordiness and mysticism, which are pretending to be a better literature, a higher theology, and almost a new revelation.

New Philosophies in the West. — We are becoming vain of our inventions in philosophy in this part of the country. It would seem, however, that we are not likely to monopolize the new discoveries in this line. From the prospectus copied below it appears that there are those on the other side of the mountains, who can speculate as profoundly, or at least as unintelligibly, as the best of us here. The author resides at Wheeling, West Virginia. Lest some of our over-sensitive readers may be apprehensive that he also is tending to atheism or pantheism, we

would premise that he is as staunch a Christian as needs be, and orthodox withal. Here is his

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"To a Discussion on the nature of the human soul, showing, that it is very mortal, instead of being immortal, as understood by the Christian World — and therefore liable to be lost, and is lost by thousands even in this life; because it is an attribute of the mind, the spirit, or the principles of human intelligence, and not this principle itself. The arguments are adduced from human experience and knowledge in physical and intellectual science, and in moral and natural philosophy. In all which departments man being conversant has always been convinced of the existence of a real, original, and premogenitive principle of causation, called God in our language; because this conviction and knowledge are derived to him through the same channel, that brings him a knowledge of the principles of any of the sciences, or even of his own existence. But man not having any means in his power, through the whole range of these acquirements, to determine with certainty on his existence after this life, therefore, the Author of his being has given him assurance of this, by his Word in divers ways and manners formerly, but in these latter days, by his Word dwelling among us, clothed with our flesh and blood. Therefore, as man may, and does exist here with or without this attribute or soul, so also he will exist hereafter with or without it, according to the nature and perpetuity of those objects, out of which, while here, he has derived his soul. I say, according to the nature and perpetuity of those objects; for the Word has assured us, that the objects of this world will not answer as a treasure or resource, from whence the soul of our future being is derived; therefore, he has pointed out to us the true and real objects; and has moreover affirmed, that these are the true and only ones, that will answer this purpose. Consequently, the Scriptures being the declarations of the Word, it is out of them only, that we can arrive at a true and proper knowledge of these objects. Wherefore, I have taken the Scriptures as true, and gathered the truths therein contained, and presented them in order, in maintenance of my position, that the human soul is mortal, and therefore, certain to be lost hereafter by all those, who place it in the objects of this world. The Scriptures then, being the fountain, there arose a necessary inquiry about the nature of Him, who opened it to us, that is, Trinity in Unity, embracing The Father, The Son or Word, and The Holy Spirit — the nature of a new birth or a birth from Heaven — the nature of Baptism, and of the First and Second Resurrection.

"The Discussion will be spread over sixty-four pages, octavo size, medium sheet. It is ready for the press, and will be printed when two hundred copies are taken by subscription. Each copy will come at 50 cts. to subscribers. — Written by

EZEKIEL HILDRETH."

DECEMBER, 1837.

A Voice of Warning and Instruction to all People, containing a Declaration of the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of the Latter Day Saints, Commonly called Mormons. By P. P. PRATT, Minister of the Gospel. New York: Printed by W. Sandford. 1837. 24mo. pp. 216. — Here is one of the precious quackeries of our time and country; one of the most extraordinary, and threatening to be one of the most mischievous and fatal impostures, which ever disgraced a civilized people. There seems to be no end nor bound to the gullibility of men. When we first heard of the golden plates of Mormon, which one Joe Smith pretended to have found and interpreted, and were told that a number of persons had become converts to the delusion, we supposed that but a very small number could be seduced by such barefaced fabling, and that Mormonism would soon die out and be forgotten. But now the newspapers are informing us that the Mormons, or Mormonites, are collected in great force at the West, and that with arms in their hands they are carrying on hostilities with the other inhabitants. Latter Day Saints indeed! We trust that they are the last saints, of that complexion, whom we shall be doomed to hear of in our day.

It would be a wearisome task to recount all the solemn fooleries which are crowded into the little book of Mr. Parley P. Pratt, but for the satisfaction of those who may like to know what Mormonism is, or pretends to be, we will give a few extracts from it, which will contain the substance of his explanations. "But what," he supposes some inquirer to ask, "is that wonderful book, about which there is so much said? what do these strange men testify, that causes so much excitement? let them speak for themselves." Then follows the answer.

"Well, hearken, my reader. The Book of Mormon was found in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven, in Ontario county, New-York. Was translated and published in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty. It contains the history of the ancient inhabitants of America, who were a branch of the house of Israel, of the tribe of Joseph; of whom the Indians are still a remnant; but the principal nation of them having fallen in battle, in the fourth or fifth century, one of their prophets, whose name was Mormon, saw fit to make an abridgment of their history, their prophesies, and their doctrine, which he engraved on Plates; and afterwards being slain, the Record fell into the hands of his son Moroni, who being hunted by his enemies, was directed to deposit the record safely in the earth, with a promise from God that it should be preserved, and should be again brought to light in the latter days, by means of a Gentile nation, who should possess the land. This deposit was made about the year four hundred and twenty, on a hill then called Cumora, now in Ontario county, where it was preserved in safety,

until it was brought to light by no less than the ministry of angels, and translated by Inspiration. And the Great Jehovah bore record of the same to chosen witnesses who declare it to the world." — pp. 128, 129.

This being the history in brief of Mormonism, we will give our readers a touch of its evidences.

"But what are the evidences which we gather from Scripture concerning the coming forth of this glorious work? We shall attempt to prove — first, that America is a promised land to the seed of Joseph; second, that the Lord would reveal to them his truth as well as to the Jews; and third, that their Record should come forth and unite its testimony with the Record of the Jews, in time for the restoration of Israel in the last days.

"First, Gen. xlviii., Jacob, while blessing the two sons of Joseph, says, 'Let them grow into a multitude in the midst of the earth:' and in the same blessing it is said of Ephraim, his seed shall become a multitude of nations. Now put the sense of these sayings together, and it makes Ephraim a multitude of nations in the midst of the earth. In Gen. xlix. it is prophesyed concerning Joseph, (while Jacob was blessing him,) that he should be a faithful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall, the archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him, yet his bow abode in strength. Again he further says, 'the blessings of thy Father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors, unto the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills; they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him that was separate from his brethren.' Now I ask who *was* Jacob's progenitors, and what was the blessing they conferred upon him? Abraham and Isaac were his progenitors, and the land of Canaan was the blessing they conferred upon him — or that God promised them he should possess. Recollect that Jacob confers on Joseph a much greater land than that of Canaan; even greater than his fathers had conferred upon him, for Joseph's blessing was to extend to the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills. Now reader stand in Egypt, where Jacob then stood, and measure to the utmost bounds of the everlasting hills, and you will land somewhere in the central part of America. Again, one of the prophets says, in speaking of Ephraim, 'when the Lord shall roar, the children of Ephraim shall tremble from the west.' Now let us sum up these sayings, and what have we gained; first — that Ephraim was to grow into a multitude of nations in the midst of the earth; second — Joseph was to be greatly blest in a large inheritance, as far off as America; third — this was to be on the west of Egypt or Jerusalem.

"Now let the world search from pole to pole, and they will not find a multitude of nations in the midst of the earth, who can possibly have sprung from Ephraim, unless they find them in America; for the midst of all other parts of the earth is inhabited by mixed races, who have sprung from various sources; while here an almost boundless country was secluded from the rest of the world, and inhabited by a race of men, evidently of the same origin, although as evidently divided into many nations. Now the Scriptures cannot be broken, therefore, these

Scriptures must apply to America, for the plainest of reasons — because they can apply no where else." — pp. 131 - 133.

Very plain, indeed; and as the second and third positions are established in an equally convincing manner, we will omit the arguments in proof of them, and pass over to the practical part of the subject.

"So much then we have produced from the Scriptures, in proof of a work like the book of Mormon, making its appearance in these days; to say nothing of Isaiah xxix., which we have already noticed in a former part of his work. — But says one, what use is the book of Mormon, even if it be true? — I answer, first it brings to light an important history before unknown to man. Second, it reveals the origin of the American Indians, which was before a mystery. Third, it contains important prophesies, yet to be fulfilled, which immediately concerns the present generation, and their very existence depends on an immediate understanding of them. Fourth, it contains much plainness in regard to points of doctrine, insomuch that all may understand, and see eye to eye, if they take pains to read it." — pp. 135, 136.

In the midst of all these high and cloudy pretensions of the Mormons there seems to be a political end in view, which it may not be amiss for us to keep in mind, as the events of our Western history are transpiring. This end is expressed in the following, among other passages of Mr. Parley P. Pratt's Voice of Warning.

"And here is the end of the matter; and I would only add, that the government of the United States has been engaged for upwards of seven years, in gathering the remnant of Joseph, (the Indians,) to the very place where they will finally build a New Jerusalem; a city of Zion; with the assistance of the believing Gentiles, who will gather with them from all the nations of the earth; and this gathering is clearly predicted in the Book of Mormon, and other revelations, and the place before appointed, and the time set for its fulfilment; and except the Gentiles repent of all their abominations, and embrace the same covenant, and come into the same place of gathering, they will soon be utterly destroyed from off the face of this land: as it is written by Isaiah, the nation and kingdom that will not serve thee, shall perish."

ERRATUM. — Page 158, first line, for *case or trial*, read *case on trial*.

THE

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ART. I. — *Sulla Morale Cattolica Osservazioni* di ALESSANDRO MANZONI. Firenze. 1835.

IT is not often that we receive writings of polemic divinity from Catholic countries. Whether because Rome is too sure of her rights to be willing to make them a subject of dispute, or because she considers force the best of her rights; whether because she relies on the immutability of her fate, or because she feels her fate inevitable; whether, in a word, because in a controversy she has nothing to fear, or nothing to hope, it is certain that Rome has laid down her arms, and, far from thinking of carrying war among her enemies, when attacked answers not. The fervor of her missionaries and the zeal of her *propaganda* have relented; the dark legions of Loyola have been scattered; of that great chain, that threatened the peace of Europe, only a few links remain, — separate, scattered. Poor owls, surprised by the broad sun in their nocturnal rambles, the Jesuits are groping about from court to court for a shelter, proffering the coöperation of their foiled policy and exploded hypocrisy, acting the part of satellites of those monarchs of the earth, of whom they were formerly the terror, —

"Di re malvagi consiglier peggiori."

There are no church reviews, no periodicals of any credit or circulation connected with religion, in any of the Catholic lands, unless we except perhaps the *Giornale di Religione* in Modena, a monthly periodical printed under the auspices of

the Austrian heir of the house of Este, and sharing the notoriety which his Highness seemed so anxious, at any cost, to secure. There are a great many reasons why it should be so. The wars the Romish church has waged, since the Council of Trent, against the different Protestant denominations, have turned by no means to her advantage; and what she preserved from that general dismemberment, she rather owed to the selfish views of her defenders, than to the wisdom of her own measures, or to the energy of her own exertions. She is now threatened at home, in the heart of her once most firmly devoted provinces, France, Spain, and Italy. She is grappling with a formidable adversary far more dangerous than either Luther and his fiery doctrines, or Napoleon and his boundless ambition, — a dreary spectre, weaponless, passionless, mute, — bidding her no defiance, declining close engagement, overcome by no disaster, elated by no success, but lurking by her side, waiting and watching, destroying her by a steadfast, ghastly look, blasting all objects on which it rests, desolating, petrifying like the gorgon of old, — Skepticism. It would be no longer of any great consequence whether the cause be good, or whether it have able supporters; there is no tribunal before which the debate may be brought. The pope is not perishing for want of preachers or writers, so much as for lack of readers and listeners; and on that account his opponents have not much chance against him. All religious controversies are adjourned in the Catholic countries, to give place to political strifes, and the people will listen to no parties until they have constituted themselves free judges.

But were it otherwise, could even the general interest be turned towards so vital a question, Catholicism could not bring into the lists champions able to withstand the combined efforts of the Protestant churches. In Germany and England, as well as in America, the clergy have the general direction, — it may almost be said, the exclusive monopoly of literature. In France and Italy the ministers are good in proportion as they are ignorant. In spite of the numberless host of priests and friars of all colors, ranged under the standards of the successors of St. Peter, it is not difficult to understand that, with such vows as a Catholic priest is obliged to pronounce at the altar, it is no easy task to obtain fresh recruits. Young men of high expectations from the universities are very seldom induced to put on the surplice, unless by the sinful allurements of worldly am-

bitious views, or by more impious insinuations respecting the fragility of the barrier that is to separate them from that world which they profess to renounce. But those of the parochial clergy, among whom is often found the holy evangelical man, the father, the edifier, the benefactor of his fellow beings, mostly issue from the country; they are the children of the poor, who, bred up in seminaries generally at the expense of the state, with the aspect of want ever before their eyes, are fitted up for mass in the short space of two years, and sent back to their mountains before the taint of worldly depravity has reached them. Thus, the highly gifted but worldly minded prelate, surrounded with luxury and vice, wants that energy and ardor which only conviction can give; and the modest but ignorant curate is too blind himself ever to bring light upon others. Hence of that innumerable militia there is not one pressing forward for the cause they have embraced, whilst the one class disgrace it by their scandalous misconduct, and the other by their absurd superstition. Hence it happens that the few generous enthusiasts who still dare to raise a generous voice for Christianity, if not for Catholicism, such as Chateaubriand and Lamennais in France, Manzoni and Pellico in Italy, either do not belong to, or do not write in the spirit of the clergy, and are looked upon by them with mistrust and jealousy, though the closest investigation may not find them astray for a single moment from the strictest orthodoxy.

Thus it is really consoling to see Manzoni, the noblest poet of Italy, in the present age, a man of undisputed conscientiousness, of the purest morals, as well as of the most independent and disinterested spirit, taking up the gauntlet that had lain in the arena, or at least had very seldom been worthily handled, since Luther first threw it against popish deception and tyranny, and declaring himself a champion of that noble original faith, from which dissenters had only departed in the hope of adhering closer to it.

Among his countrymen the pious device of Manzoni will perhaps give rise to different interpretations. It will be supposed that the author wrote, actuated by the desire of reconciling the spirits exasperated since the general collision of all civil, moral, and religious principles in the epoch of the late French invasions; it will be ascribed to a laudable intention of reacting against the torrent, which German and French Philosophy are pouring down the Alps under the disguise of new scientific

speculations; it will be explained as a fine political scheme, intended to gain over to the cause of Italian emancipation the sound part of the clergy, and the moderate minds that still obey their impulse, and to make the cross and the mitre the rallying standard for an Italian confederacy, that might renew the wonders of valor of the Lombard league of happy remembrance: so unwilling is our wily and selfish age to admit in others sincerity of purpose and straightforwardness of view. We think there is no need of attributing worldly motives to an undertaking so generous in itself. We think there is enough in the memories and traditions of the triumphs of the militant church, to make a generous soul grieve at its approaching dissolution. There is enough august and majestic in the edifice whose final downfall he is attempting to prevent, to repay him for his work; enough in the persecutions the church begins in her turn to endure; enough in the tears and desolation of her mourning widowhood, to engage a chivalrous heart to consecrate all to her relief; — to make her cause beautiful in the eyes of the brave, it is enough that it is the cause of the conquered:

"Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni."

We know no particulars of the life of Manzoni. It could hardly be believed how, in an enslaved country, public opinion is cautious and respectful as to the private character and conduct of individuals, even the most distinguished. Where the police is busy to secure public tranquillity, there are no impertinent newspapers, no editorial prefaces, no *Biographie des contemporaines*, to watch closely every new starting celebrity, following them from step to step, invading the secrecy of their favorite haunts, peeping over their shoulders while they are writing, putting all their oddities and extravagancies in open day, as if to reassure common mortals that the man of genius is still made of flesh and bones, eats and sleeps, and is as subject to human infirmities as the least of them. It is thus that neither in the different editions of his works, nor in any of the Italian periodicals, do we find an account of the life and character of our author; and all the estimate we can make of his manner of thinking and feeling must be derived from what he himself has yielded to our curiosity — his writings. We remember, however, to have understood, though only timidly and hesitatingly whispered, that Manzoni was in his youth affected by a disease, common in our days to the

brightest minds in his country — doubt; that he was long tormented by an inquisitive solicitude that had nearly undermined all his belief in revelation; when, travelling accidentally in the south of France, he happened to hear, we do not remember whether in Nismes or Toulouse, a French preacher, by whose eloquence he was so mightily struck, that soliciting his acquaintance, and taking a wiser view of the subject, in which he had seen hitherto nothing but chaos and darkness, he was completely won back to the faith of his fathers, and vowed to exert the powers of genius heaven had granted him to the rescue of others. Whether this miraculous conversion ever took place or not, it is a fact, that, in his works, Manzoni constantly evinces the most profound belief in the general dogmas of the Catholic religion, and even in those ecclesiastical appendages, that form the matter of controversy with Protestants.

His sacred hymns, his tragedies, his divine ode on Napoleon, almost every chapter of his far-famed novel, are eminently Catholic; and not only is Catholicism incidentally introduced when the subject naturally leads to it, but it seems as if the works themselves had been expressly undertaken for the sake of glorifying the importance of its redeeming mission, and illustrating the sublimity of its sacred rites.

The book we propose to examine forms, as it were, the republication in systematic form of the theories he had indirectly diffused in various parts of his works. The flame of charity he had clothed under the glowing flashes of lyrical poetry, the profound meditations he had veiled under the pathos of tragedy, the salutary lessons resulting from the development of the catastrophies of romance, all this is now reduced to system; his ideas have taken form, method, and consistency; the apostle has cast off his mantle and fulfilled his mission.

The work of Manzoni is destined, as he himself announces in his preface, to defend the morals of the Catholic church from the accusations that are made against her in the 127th chapter of the History of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages by Sismondi. There it was meant to prove that the corruption of Italy is partly derived from the moral doctrines of that church. Manzoni is convinced that those doctrines alone are holy and consistent with reason; that all corruption comes rather from transgressing them, or from misunderstanding and misinterpreting them; that it is impossible to find against them an argument of any weight; that none at least is to be regarded

as such of the many brought against it by the author of the history of the Italian republics. Manzoni's little volume is in consequence merely a review in its form; but he himself professes in the same preface, "that the refutation embraces more than the refuted article I had attacked; that he thought that the only way of arriving at a useful result was to bring the question to a more general issue, and, instead of taking up the defence only on the controverted point of morals, to prove the reasonableness of the whole system." So that we may take up the book of Manzoni as a complete vindication of the Catholic Faith.

There is not in his country another question of more vital importance, nor is there to be found another advocate that could add more weight to it. "The question to be decided," he says, "is, whether millions of men must abandon the moral rule they profess, or whether they must better study it, and more faithfully follow its dictates." But to assure the success of a cause it is not sufficient that the cause should be one of high consequence, and the champion one of high merit, — it is necessary that the world be disposed to render justice to both. In order then to judge what probabilities of success remain for Manzoni, it will not be useless to present a sketch of the general state of the public mind in Italy concerning the subject, such at least as local observations have led us to conjecture.

From the earliest period of Christianity Italy has been its chief seat, its august metropolis. Harassed, dispersed by the Roman proconsuls in the remotest provinces of the empire, the fathers of the church always directed their efforts towards the capital, persuaded that to prevail at Rome, was to prevail over the earth. Their virtues and the will of God triumphed. Rome was Christian, and the world was Christian.

At its first appearing in Italy, the Gospel found everything wonderfully disposed for the fulfilment of the eternal will; a soil prepared for the reception of the holy seed. It found an enlightened but degraded race, (the Latin population,) for whom the stern patriotic virtues imposed by paganism had become onerous and troublesome. It found another race, (the northern conquerors,) pure and virtuous, but rude and ignorant, willing to adopt the feelings and manners of their subjects, and desirous to conciliate them by listening to their moral and religious lessons.

Hence, directed as it was by its divine promoter through

natural ways, and assumed in great part from worldly motives, the Gospel admirably succeeded in softening the iron hearts of the North, as in raising the degenerate race of the South; it taught the one to forgive, the other to forget; it taught that all races are equal, and that the master and slave are brothers in the sight of God. Thus, from its first starting on its peaceful mission, Christianity interposed between man and his woes, struck down the raised arm of the violent, and dried the tears of the sufferer; or by raising man above earth, it poured a lenient balm on such wounds as could not be healed.

But no sooner had the holy religion triumphed than the seeds of corruption burst forth. The ministers of the Gospel, styling themselves the vicars of Christ, began by undoing his work. They withdrew his books, and counterfeited his words; then they made their opinion a law, and enforced that law by fire and sword. They intruded themselves into the secrets of the heart, and laid conscience asleep. They monopolized the eternal clemency, and set a price for the ransom of the soul even beyond the limits of repentance. At last they sat in the Vatican, the rivals of kings in wealth, in power, and in crime.

While a system of religious tyranny was thus gradually organized in the West, of which the centre was Rome and Italy, the East was raving with religious licentiousness. Grecian pedantry blasphemed and outraged the new creed with a thousand futilities of ever repullulating heresies, and having exhausted their interminable subjects, Aristotle and Plato, they took up holy writ, as a fit subject for cavilling and sophistry. The poison spread from class to class; the court and the army were turned into schools of polemic divinity; hence the passage from arguments to blows, and from sermons to slaughter, was easy. Religion became for the East the principal source of general dissolution. Italy did not catch the contagion. Since that period she manifested a tendency to unity and submission. Since that period Italy was eminently a Catholic country. Italian steadiness and veneration could not be shaken by the speciousness of Grecian arguments; the liberal-minded sons of the Romans revolted at the venom the Greek divines infused into their diatribes. The Greek emperors resorted to means of violence and persecution, and every one knows what warm sectarians such means can create. Religion became an occasion and a pretext for political rebellion. All bonds with the Grecian empire were broken, and the Italians clung to

Rome, from whom they perceived that laws could still be dictated to the subjected world.

From those days the Catholic religion became for Italy a national property, a bond of national union, an object of national pride. True, the Italians, as the rest of the world, and more than the rest of the world, suffered from the despotism and ambition of the court of Rome; and the simple manners of earlier ages were shocked at the scandals of which the eternal city was the theatre; but the importance that city and the whole peninsula derived from the circumstance of being the head of the church, — of receiving the homage of monarchs, and welcoming pilgrims from all the corners of the globe, sitting, as it were, in the shade of the Vatican, protected by its thunders, — by flattering the Italians in their natural love of greatness, and thirst for dominion, inspired them with the idea that their cause and the cause of the church were one. In progress of time, when the newly developed energies of the Lombard and maritime cities had rendered the imperial yoke insupportable, when a long warfare was waged between Italy and the German Cæsars, from Otho the First to Frederick Barbarossa in the days of the Lombard league, the intimate alliance between the church and the people was still more closely soldered; — an unnatural alliance into which the Italians entered with good faith, for God and their inalienable rights, and the popes with schemes of ambition and revenge; — an unfair play, in which the people paid with their blood and their money, the popes with indulgences and treasons; — until, at the end of the contest, the pontiffs, now free from all fears on the part of Germany, conspired against the peace and liberty of those cities, to which they were indebted for their very existence. It required the work of not less than seven hundred years, the whole interval between Alexander the Third and Gregory the Sixteenth, a long chain of vicissitudes and revolutions, a succession of illusions and delusions, of perfidies, crimes, and atrocities, to shake in Italian bosoms the persuasion that the Roman pontiff was their natural protector and ally, and that their destinies hung on the destinies of Rome. A great subversion of all principles must have taken place, if the last successor of Alexander the Third, of him for whom the Lombard leaguers beheld with resignation the conflagration of their dwellings and the desolation of their families, is now compelled to sue for existence, to implore the support of those German Cæsars, whose anointed

heads his haughty predecessors were used to trample under their feet, and sell his influence, his dignity, his conscience, for a few Hungarian battalions, with whom to keep ground against the insurrections of his disaffected provinces.

But if local interests, veneration, and gratitude bound the Italians to the natural enemy of the enemies of their independence, if, in the abstract, they loved and defended the papal chair, it was not seldom that individuals and states rose in arms against its unworthy occupants. Italy having been for a long period after the age of Dante the most enlightened of countries, could not be blind to the excesses which contaminate at every step the history of the church. Proximity or contact considerably tend to raise the veil before which men bow in adoration and awe, and those same excesses, which were heard with dismay and incredulity by the faithful of the far off provinces, were laid bare to the view of the Romans. The Romans in consequence have been in all times the most irreverent of Catholics. So far back as the days of the last Crusades, Rome was raging with anarchy, the popes were at the mercy of the nobles of that city, involved in their bloody feuds, raised up and cast down by the prevailing party, oftentimes made prisoners, insulted and roughly handled by their bolder chiefs; so that at last one of them, no longer safe in distracted Italy, asked for refuge in France, when the papal seat was transferred for seventy years to Avignon.

More lately, when, in the days that prepared the epoch of Charles the Fifth, the general balance being first settled among the European powers, the affairs of Italy were composed by force, the popes enjoyed a comparative security. Still the most unpopular of them, such as Borgia, Caraffa, &c. were with incredible audacity persecuted, alive or dead, by mutinies, insults, or satires, for which the *Transteverine* populace even to this day enjoy an unequivocal reputation.

While patrician jealousies and popular factions often threatened the persons of the pontiffs even within the threshold of the sanctuary, men of genius aimed more decisive blows against their spiritual and temporal authority.—Those, who are acquainted with the early literature of Italy, know what fierce enemies to Rome were Dante, Petrarca, and all that illustrious senate of poets and scholars, who, more or less openly sympathizing with all religious sects at variance with the church of Rome, such as the Albigenses of Languedoc, the Paterini of

Lombardy, and the templars of northern France, filling Italy and Europe with their indignant invectives, tended to raise the nations to a total emancipation from Catholic bondage.

We do not hesitate to affirm, that, had Italian literature proceeded freely in its course, reformations would have taken place two hundred years before Luther; but the genius of evil prevailed. Rome strengthened in proportion as Italian independence gave way, and using her own advantage for a wanton retaliation, became in her turn the envenomed enemy of learning, and, while apparently protecting an idle classical literature, she destined to the flames books and authors, and murmured against providence, who had made Truth proof against fire and sword. Thus perished Savonarola, and with him a large number of innovators of less extensive notoriety, who, like Luther, issuing from the silence of the cloisters, full of the enthusiasm that a secluded life is wont to foster and foment, succeeded in constituting themselves arbiters of the multitude, and fell finally the victims, either of popular inconstancy, or of their own rashness, obeying the laws of that wisdom, which destined them to fill up the ditches, and level the entrenchments for the better success of those who were to come last to the assault.

When at length the great revolutions of Luther and Calvin took place in Germany, in Britain, and Switzerland, Italy was no longer mistress of herself. The generous cities of Tuscany were then lying prostrate under the consequences of their last struggle against Charles the Fifth; Lombardy and Naples had been subdued long before. Whatever opinions might have prevailed over the different provinces, concerning the new doctrines, in none would it have been possible to raise a standard in their favor. But had it been otherwise, had not the Italians been fettered to their religious yoke by political circumstances, it is more than doubtful whether they would ever have embraced Protestantism in its widest sense. Their earliest controversies against the Greeks had inspired them with horror for all heresies and schisms. Dante and his school, Savonarola and his followers, preached against popish ambition and priestly corruption, and were understood; but the new reformers, though starting from the same grounds went much farther; they made the most recondite dogmas and mysteries subjects of discussion, and the Italians, alarmed by the rashness and vehemence with which they proceeded, abandoned them, as if afraid of falling into an abyss from which human wisdom could not withdraw

them. For a long time events seemed to justify their cautious apprehensions. Every year tidings of nefarious deeds were brought to Italy from the lands where the great cause of religious reformations was debated; — Lutherans, Calvinists, Huguenots, Puritans, a hundred sects appeared arising from blood, drowning each other in blood, like the warriors springing from the teeth of the serpent in ancient mythology. The short-sighted Italians did not foresee, that anarchy was to become for Protestants the close of evil; servitude for Catholics was to be evil without a close.

If, actuated by such reasons, the Italians did not openly join the new associations which withdrew one half of Europe from the mother church, they resisted with equal firmness the oppressive measures, by which the popes, allied with Spain and Austria, contrived to react against them; and when the tremendous apparatus of chains, scaffolds, and firebrands of the Inquisition of Spain made its first appearance in the squares of their cities, the whole nation rose in rebellion, and the dark ministers of the Holy Office were repeatedly stoned to death by popular fury in Milan and Naples. Thus, either because naturally bent towards moderation and forbearance, or because humanized by their early experience of the long disasters of civil dissensions, or enlightened by their superiority in scientific and literary pursuits, the Italians have been, in all times, of all nations in Europe, the least guilty of bloodshed in religious feuds. It is not without emotion that we quote the words of our author on that subject. "Oh! among the horrible rancors," he says, "that divided Italians from Italians, this, at least, is not known. The passions that have made enemies of us, did not at least abide behind the veil of the sanctuary. It is but too true, we find, in every page of our annals, enmities sent down from generation to generation for wretched interests, and vengeance preferred to our own safety. We find in them at every step two parts of a nation fiercely disputing for the supremacy, and for advantages, which, at the end, for a great lesson, remained to neither. We find our ancestors wasting their forces in obstinate attempts to make slaves of such as might have been ardent and faithful friends; we read in them a frightful series of deplorable combats, but none, at least, like those of Cappel, Jarnac, and Prague. — True, from this unfortunate land much blood will rise in judgment, but very little that has been spilt for the sake of religion. Little, I say, when compared with what stained the other

parts of Europe. The furies and calamities of other nations give us the sad advantage of calling that blood but little; but the blood of a single man shed by the hand of his brother is too much for all ages and countries."

The new opinions of the reformation, however, though they failed in engaging the nation at large in their disputes, were not utterly unknown in the land. It is not to Protestants that we need to relate, how many of the members of the newly installed churches, and one of the greatest innovators, Calvin himself, found among the highest families in the peninsula an asylum, sympathy, and adherents; how the papal authority was repeatedly and obstinately attacked by the different states, and especially by the republic of Venice, and the dukes of Savoy and Tuscany; how a rebellious spirit frequently manifested itself in the very bosom of the clergy, in the convents, among the priesthood of all orders; and what high and daring spirits were Tommaso Campanella, Giordano Bruno, Fra Paolo Sarpi, and, in times nearer to us, the bishops Ricci, and Turchi, and other dignitaries of the church, of the highest standing.

Thus, from the days of the reformation to the present age, the Catholic faith was silently losing ground without any apparent scissure or open apostacy. But it was reserved for our era to behold the achievements of reformers of a different temper, to hear of theories, by the side of which the innovations of Luther and Calvin sink into comparative insignificance. Until our days the civil and sacred institutions of Europe were undergoing the slow and melancholy process of a lingering autumn; the French revolution was the north wind, that was at one blast to hurry the work of desolation and let in the horrors of winter. — The questions about the ceremonies and discipline of the church, the Unity, the Trinity, Transubstantiation, all the differences that appeared of so great moment to our good ancestors, were all set aright at a blow. "Down with the pope and the minister; down with the altar and the pulpit; no sabbath, no bible, no God." Then came liberty and equality, the federation of the *Champ de Mars*, the *autel de la patrie*, and the Goddess of Reason fresh from the *boue des ruisseaux* and the orgies of the *Palais Royal;* a complication of crime and insanity, which many of us have witnessed with our own eyes, and to which still posterity will never give credence.

Called to share the atrocities of French Jacobinism, Italy was but too ripe for all extremes. The modest people of Lombardy

beheld in their squares the nocturnal sabbaths around the *arbre de la liberté;* the monks were let loose upon the world; the nuns were forced out of their cells; the lofty basilicks were changed into barracks; the sacred bells turned into instruments of terror and death; holy images became a butt for scoffing and obscenity; humiliation and captivity awaited the inviolable person of the Vicar of Christ. All this the Italians have seen and endured. There was amazement and consternation; there was applause and ovation; — then, there was silence and oblivion as if nothing had been.

In 1815 the restored governments thought it their interest to efface the consequences of the revolutionary ravages. They have rebuilt, they have propped up all that seemed still susceptible of repair; and such ruins as seemed absolutely past recovery they have adroitly cleared off, or carefully concealed, and, wonderful to say, the Catholic edifice is still standing.

But that edifice had its foundation in the faith of the people; now the people have seen so much, have learned so much, so often have they believed and disbelieved, that faith is completely extinguished; nothing in their eyes is any longer true, nothing is sacred. Our author and other writers of the same general character seem not yet to despair of religion, and we applaud their trust; we offer vows for their success. But they ought not to forget that the Catholic religion is the work of God fallen into the hands of man, — like the human being a compound of an eternal spirit and a corruptible clay. They are too firmly persuaded that, in the actual state of things, all must be saved, or nothing; that any concession made to the innovating spirit of the age leads to a general subversion of principles; that the removal of a single stone will bring the whole fabric to the ground. We must be permitted to express a different opinion. Christianity relies for its preservation on its divine origin, on the simplicity of its primitive institutions, on its natural evidences, on the sanctity of its morals, on the gratitude of the world for its regenerating influences. Its fate can never be involved in the ruin of any ecclesiastical system. When Catholics shall recover from their indiscriminating hatred for the school of error in which they were bred up, when they shall feel a just horror for the apathy of skepticism, for the kind of religious death into which they have fallen, all must be laid aside that led them to this deplorable condition; all must be rejected that offered a weak side to the shafts of infidelity; the bride of Christ must

return to her Lord in all the decency and purity of her bridal attire, that he may give to oblivion her errors and wanderings, when she went away from him loose and shameless, the prostitute of the monarchs of the earth.

In the first place, it is a point on which the best of Catholics, as well as the worst of infidels, perfectly agree; that whatever constitution the church may receive, after having undergone the modifications of which the necessity is so generally felt, no doubt can be entertained of the injustice and inexpediency of the temporal power of the popes. Neither Manzoni nor any of the most rigid defenders of Catholic unity have ever said a word on that subject. The French Directory and Napoleon have showed to the world how easy it was to strip the bishop of Rome of his earthly crown, and to drag him in tears and chains, a spectacle of wretchedness to the nations. And if the long sufferings of the Sixth Pius, and the heroism of the Seventh, gave to their cause an interest that was merely personal, we have seen more lately the day in which, with unexampled unanimity, all the different classes of the population in the states of the church arose with reiterated efforts against the theocracy of their present ruler, and would have put an end to it, but for the interference of France and Austria, and the perversity of the destiny of that unfortunate region. Fallen from the opinion of the firmest believers, the temporal power of Rome is then destined to end with the other political calamities of the peninsula, and the warm patriots are shaking with impatience the barrier, that the superstition of their fathers raised against their union and independence, reviving the memory of ancient wrongs, unveiling base intrigues and dark reasons, and announcing the forthcoming hour of retribution. And, elated by juvenile enthusiasm, they run with their fancy to meet the dawn of the day, when their glorious metropolis shall be cleared of all the priestly crowd that soil its streets, and repeopled with the elite of active and robust Lombards, hardy Genoese, and fiery Sicilians; when the halls of the Vatican shall throw open their doors, to receive the representatives of the different states to dictate the act of union and confederacy, and provide for the security and happiness of generations to come.

Whatever in the verification of such bright expectations may prove to be the destiny of the pope and his court, it is not said that it would necessarily bring with it the dissolution of the Catholic unity in Italy.

Either owing to their natural tendency, or to the reflections arising from the past, such is at present the disposition of minds of that country, that they will sooner give up religion altogether, than have it dismembered into different sects and communions. The unity of faith has always been a rallying standard to put an end to their discords and rivalries; the different orders and ranks of society have always met at church on terms of equality. Should it be otherwise now that Italy can only live by concord and harmony? Although the Old and New Testaments were dictated in such unequivocal terms, that it seemed impossible they could give rise to such a diversity of interpretations, yet we see that, wherever a free course has been allowed to theological investigations, human minds have rushed on so inconsiderately, they have been parted so far asunder, that it would now require not less than the interference of the power of heaven to bring them together anew. And it is a fact, a striking, deplorable fact, that some of the Protestant denominations, by too busy a spirit of innovation, by too wide a freedom of discussion, and sometimes by the worldly jealousies and vanities of their ministers, have arrived at the same results to which the Catholics were driven by the oppressions, the absurdities, the scandals of their church, — skepticism and infidelity; with this difference, that the Catholics have fallen into such extremes out of disgust and resentment, the Protestants have come to them through pride and presumption. We are not called upon to pronounce between systems so opposite in their means and their ends, and still so intimately connected in their original foundation, and probably equally conducive to the fulfilment of the intentions of their divine institutor.

Catholicism, perhaps, even in its greatest purity, imposed more abnegation of reason, more implicit faith, than any effort of human virtue could assent to. Protestantism gave to human curiosity and indiscretion more latitude than is compatible with religious submission. The fault, in both cases, chiefly consisted in the degree of authority left to the clergy. The Catholic is firmly persuaded that his priest would never wish to deceive him, if he could; the Protestant trusts that his minister could not, if he would. Hence, the Catholic depends too much upon another, the Protestant relies too much on himself. But deception in Catholicism must be derived from a general conspiracy of all the clerical orders, from the pope to the meanest of

monks; error in Protestantism can be the consequence of the sophisms of a divinity school, or of the shrewdness of a single writer or preacher thirsting for notoriety.

Certainly a thinking Catholic, assisting at the ceremony, where a hundred thousand people are prostrated in adoration before the vial in which the blood of St. Januarius is boiling, has occasion to be ashamed of the creed of his fathers; but a warm-hearted Protestant, on his way to meeting, crossing a hundred currents of people walking in opposite directions, must feel a chill through his veins at the thought that all those people are walking in the path of error and perdition. The reformed denominations have always aimed to preserve religion in its simplicity and purity; the Catholics have labored to maintain it in its splendor and majesty. The Protestants have kindled their persuasion in the light of reason; the Catholics have tempered their faith in the flames of charity; there is in Protestantism more to satisfy the mind, in Catholicism more to fill the heart.

As such considerations prevail in Italy among the enlightened friends of religion, the unity of faith and worship will, according to all probabilities, be preserved in its forms, though under more large and liberal views; and as Spain, France, and Germany seem now impatient to bring about a separation from the Roman church, we are not perhaps much mistaken in anticipating the day, in which all Catholic countries, Italy not excepted, shall rule their own churches, independent of all others, by an episcopal system, analogous, in some manner, to the present constitution of the church of England.

Such a system being established, or rather before the establishment of any system, the nation will proceed to the suppression of the cloisters. The evil of monastic seclusion, as well as that of pontifical usurpation, ascends to the earliest periods of Christianity. Celibacy, one of the most fertile seeds of social dissolution produced by the corruption of the Roman world, was fatally encouraged and reduced to system by the misconstruction of the Christian doctrines. That fondness for undisturbed contemplation, that ascetic abnegation of all the charms of life, that taste for idleness, silence, and solitude had always been general in the Eastern countries, where Christianity arose; and a general belief was engendered, that religion condemned all earthly affections and family ties, as impediments to man in his flight to heaven. Then persecution arose, and

it became indeed an impediment to drag a long train of women and children through the dangers and privations, which the militant church underwent for some centuries. In progress of time, what had been at first a consequence of excess of zeal, or necessity, was exalted into a virtue; and the deserts of the mountains, the bowels of the earth resounded with the groans of a thousand victims, who thought they were pleasing God by abjuring his gifts. So far it was only an unnatural enthusiasm, a pious folly. But when those hermits abandoned the rocks of Thebais or the recesses of the catacombs, when their cell was changed into a palace, and that palace erected in the centre of cities, or in their most luxurious environs, when the death-bed and public calamities began to supply the votaries of poverty, when all the noblest affections were quenched that egotism might triumph alone, when the confessional opened the way to the sanctuary of domestic privacy, and the vow of chastity was tried by a close familiarity with fair penitents, when the monastic bodies were ranked into a holy militia to fight for the cause of ignorance and oppression, of popery and the Inquisition, — we are almost tempted to cry that their judgment has come too late, and the thunder has been suspended too long.

A great many arguments are alleged in their favor: that their vast possessions were the fruit of their industry which they had redeemed from marshes and forests; that they first disarmed northern ferocity, as they still command respect and reverence from the infidels of Asia and Africa, where they bring the message of joy; that they preserved the treasures of ancient knowledge from utter dispersion in the middle ages, and fed the sacred lamp that was to enlighten the world.

If some of these facts be true, they are only so in regard to the past, and forasmuch as the Italians were indebted to the convents, their gratitude has gone too far, and monkish pretensions still farther. There are other debts, and of more recent date, that they must be equally eager to discharge.

It is generally said and believed that the existence of the monasteries relies on the ignorance of the lowest classes, so that any attempt at reformation would meet with a fanatic resistance on the part of the multitude. To such of our readers as forget that, only forty years ago, Napoleon succeeded in this attempt, without raising any opposition, or are willing to ascribe such a success to the omnipotence of that conqueror, let the more recent example of Spain answer for us; Spain accused by the general

opinion of Christendom, and convicted, by repeated acts of atrocity, of surpassing even Italy in all excesses of savage superstition;—Spain who, only twelve years ago, was still fighting for the cause of despotism, and for the reëstablishment of the Holy Inquisition, — where, in the name of the living God, the best blood of her enlightened citizens was shed by the consecrated hands of priests at the head of a blind multitude. Now behold in ten years, the work of ten centuries! The same blind multitude, by an awful retribution, turning the fire and the sword against those convents from which they had learned to burn and to slay, breaking open those prisons which they had filled with victims, and giving their life for that civil and religious liberty, of which they had crucified the masters. The ways of the Lord are wonderful! We are so fully persuaded that the convents, as we have said of the pope, must fall the victims of the indignation of the nation at its reawakening, that we begin to deem it salutary to consider whether in that universal proscription there is nothing that it would be better to spare. Napoleon himself spared. Struck by the innocence and devotedness of the solitaries of Mount St. Bernard, edified by the system of education in some of the Ursuline nunneries, he forbore violating their sanctuary; or even restored the community to their harmless abode, when they had already been scattered by the indiscriminating haste of his commissaries.

The convents, as a system, must perish;—the vow of perpetual seclusion, the slow suicide of ascetic discipline, the fiendish arts, by which unexperienced souls were walled up in a living tomb, must inevitably perish; but many a warm heart in Italy trusts, that the work of destruction will be confided to the hands of men not entirely dead to all feeling; who will not forget that in all stages, in all conditions of life, there are woes not to be cured but by going out of life.

The celibacy of the clergy will be abolished contemporaneously with the suppression of the monasteries. Without entering into any theological disquisition about the meaning of certain passages in the scriptures concerning the marriage of the priests, without disputing whether, even supposing the ministers of the altar reduced to a small number, and those perfect, a state of single life, an entire abstraction from all family affections, would add solemnity and dignity to their character, and not rather extinguish in them all charity and benevolence, the world at large is in our days fully persuaded, that the celibacy of the

priests is at the best a social monstrosity, invented by the popes in order to secure the devotion of their subaltern officers; that the delinquency of a single individual is apt to give more scandal than the irreprehensible conduct of the rest of the priesthood can atone for; that in order to make abstinence a virtue, it must be spontaneous. The celibacy of the priests enforced as a law has long been unpopular throughout the Catholic world. Manzoni himself has not thought proper to vindicate its institution. That law was a few years ago brought before the House of Deputies in France, as a matter merely civil; and if the discussion was then adjourned by the intrigues of Louis Philip, desirous of conciliating the pope to his interests, it is not less indubitable that, in a new order of things, the conjugal state will be left free to the priests.

A reduced body of modest, unanimous ministers* being thus established, and proportionably distributed, it will not be difficult to proceed to a gentle reform of those parts of the creed and worship, that are now considered as essentially injurious and disgraceful to the morals of an enlightened society. But such an enterprise will require more than common knowledge of human nature, a diligent study of the ideas and feelings of the majority of the nation, cautiousness, delicacy, and discretion; characters by no means common to reformers in any age or country.

The mysteries of the Unity and Trinity of God, of the divine and human nature combined in the person of the Redeemer, of the coexistence of the body, soul, and divinity of Jesus Christ in the holy host, after the whispering of the mystic words of consecration by the priest of the altar, — all that awful apparatus of sublime enigma and magic, that veil, under which the

* Such a state of things has been long since anticipated, even before the French Revolution; as in the few lines of a singular epigram of Alfieri, which all Italians know by heart: we subjoin it here, though it has been impossible for us to render it into English.

Sia pace ai frati
Purchè sfratati,
E pace ai preti
Ma pochi e queti,
Cardinalume
Non tolga il lume,
Il maggior prete
Torni alla rete
Leggi e non re,
Italia c'è.

church of the middle ages endeavored to enshrine, and envelop, and eclipse the majesty of the eternal truths from the gaze of mortals, and which the dissenting denominations have not hesitated to tear asunder, still lie at the foundation of the belief of the Catholic, and exist in all their integrity, whenever any of the tenets of revelation are preserved in his heart. True, they have been discarded by many of the high-spirited youth; but not, as among the Protestant sects, in consequence of a more wide interpretation of scripture, or of the recasting of theological dogmas. They threw off the yoke, because they were too proud to bear a yoke. They laughed at the mysteries, because they were repugnant to their understanding. They did not comment upon the scriptures, but spurned and rejected them altogether. They arrived at and passed beyond the doctrines of Luther, but through the school of Voltaire.

We are not authorized to give any opinion about such abstruse articles of controverted truth: but as it is a firm belief in Italy, that human reason cannot be of any avail in settling the difference, and as these are not the dogmas that affect the basis of the morals of Christianity, it would be, at the best, rash and gratuitous to turn the attacks of the reformation on that ground. The English and German missionaries in Italy have been unsuccessful, because they have rather attacked doctrines, which make a part of the religion of every one in Italy who cares for religion at all, than abuses essentially affecting Christian morality. Apostles of protestantism and obeying the dictates of their consciences, with more zeal than discernment, they have aimed their blows at a vital and sensitive part, rather than at the diseased and rotten; and their failure has been the more complete, inasmuch as the sound and righteous part of the Catholics apprehended in them ill-disguised apostles of the doctrines of error and impiety that ravage the land, while the corrupt and scoffing unbelievers scorned them as narrow-minded casuists, trifling with nice distinctions and definitions, proceeding through by-paths and tergiversations, hesitatingly scratching at the bark of what, they trust, they have already mortally wounded at the heart.

An unfortunate but inevitable, and partly irremediable consequence of the veneration of the Italians for the mystical dogmas of the Catholic religion is their attachment to the forms of its worship. The greatest number of the ceremonies and solemnities of the church had their origin in the land.

The Latin population, when giving the new religion a hospitable reception in the pagan temples, were unwilling to part with these rites and festivals, which formed, from immemorial time, the dearest of popular amusements. Hence, with an ignorant mixture of holy doctrines and foolish practices, they systematized that monster of absurdity which the Protestants call Catholic idolatry. Many of those showy pageantries, in fact, could be easily traced back to the times of Roman, Grecian, and even Etruscan mythology. They have been handed down from generation to generation, without any regard to the changes of religious principles, as something that could be easily conciliated with all creeds, and accommodated to all worships; something like the cathedral of Cordova, that received by turns under its thousand columns the votaries of Pagan, Christian, and Mahometan faith, neutral, skeptic, unshaken, amidst the perpetual fluctuation of the opinions of men.

It is but fair, however, to confess, that, though the clergy may have been sometimes tempted to abuse the natural submissiveness and credulity of the multitude, still the grossest superstitions are owing merely to the blind, bigoted tendency of the people themselves, and have not only never been sanctioned, but are constantly condemned and combated by the church. This evil meanwhile is already fast disappearing under the influence of the rapid progress of mental culture, and as the masquerades, and the holidays, and saturnalia of olden times, so the processions, the annual miracles, the impudent profanations, annexed to the celebration of Christmas eve and Passion week, are giving way, in proportion as the attention of the lower classes is gradually called towards the important questions of the rights and duties of man, and to the advantages and necessity of education.

But let it not be forgotten, that Southern races are more under the control of imagination than reason; that more may often be hoped from impressing their senses, than by improving their judgment; that Religion there is love, and love wants expansion, correspondence of warm feelings, movement, rapture, enthusiasm; that the periodical celebration of annual festivities tends to refresh a zeal which, in the daily routine of daily occupations, is but too apt to relent; that the recurrence of universal penances and jubilees, by bringing nations into contact, contributes to rekindle in the human heart the torch of charity, which the collision of civil interests is ever extinguish-

ing; that in the universal attendance of a whole community to a single form of worship, the individual reads, as it were, the confirmation of his own belief, and feels as if heaven could not refuse to smile on prayers sent up with such unanimity of hearts.

Certainly, when we see numberless crowds fall prostrate, as if struck by lightning, at the first appearing of a priest holding up the holy host; when the strains of unearthly music, issuing from an invisible choir, wind their lingering way through the echoes of the immortal dome of Michael Angelo; when in the mute sweetness of an Italian sunset the solemn peals of the *ave Maria* come suddenly on the wing of the western breeze —even, when in the stillness of midnight, in Eastern climes, the voice of the mufty, sonorous, oscillating, rings through the air, waking the sons of Ishmael to prayer; in that thrilling sensation which pervades our whole being, there arises a conviction, that God is with all who lift up their hearts to him, that the smoke of our incense, and the melody of our hymns can find their way to the foot of his throne, however much our mortal reason may be led into error, as to the proper way of acknowledging him.

It is remarkable that in Italy, where Southern indolence has seized upon any ordinary and extraordinary occasion, that could encourage cessation from labor, multiplying fast days and holidays to infinity, so little attention should be paid to the observation of the seventh day. Neither in the Jewish, nor in the Mahometan, we could almost say in none of the living religions, is this practice more disregarded than in Catholic countries; and in none of the Catholic countries more than in Italy. Here, indeed, the evil cannot be imputed to negligence on the part of the Church. The houses of public worship remain open on Sundays as on every day, from the earliest dawn till late in the evening. Prayers and sacraments are profusely reiterated at every hour of the day. The festive bells, loud even to annoyance, announce the day of the Lord. The clergy of all classes waste admonitions and reprimands against irreverence and profanation. But the original cause of such a disorder is to be referred to the church herself, and dates from days of ignorance and barbarism, when, fearing lest the unthinking mass of the lowest classes of people should abandon themselves to excesses of vice and intemperance, she countenanced and authorized such plays and specta-

cles as could be innocently substituted for the more brutal games of wild beasts and gladiators, of which the memory was still dear to the sons of the Romans. The fault of the Catholic church in this, as in most of her institutions, is the consequence of decrepitude. Using an authority, which they believed they held from heaven, the popes and the general councils adopted such modifications and restrictions, as they judged consonant with the passions of the ages of darkness and violence, through which Christianity has passed; and it would perhaps be difficult to bring any argument against the soundness and expediency of any of the Catholic laws and practices, if considered in relation to the ages and countries for which they were intended. But now that the progress of civilization has removed the causes which seemed to call forth these institutions, to insist upon their sanctity and inviolability implies either a conviction, that our generation unites the barbarism of all past ages, or a design of driving the world back to barbarous ages again. The service of the Catholic church, consisting, as we have said, in showy ceremonies principally directed to strike the senses, though it may at times effect powerful impressions, is not apt to excite a lasting interest, or to afford any kind of intellectual entertainment. Hence, as soon as released from immediate attention to the spectacle exhibited before his eyes, the Catholic, with a mind unused to meditation and fond of excitement, turns to pleasure the rest of that day that the church has exempted from the usual toils of life.*

* It would be difficult to form an idea of the manner of observing the Sabbath in Catholic countries by what can be seen of the people of that denomination in the eastern cities of the United States. The Italians, for instance, have hardly any preaching at all, except in Lent, and even then, attendance on sermons is not among the absolute commandments of the church. Mass only is the order of the day; and, as priestly industry has contracted the duration of that sacrifice within the space of ten minutes, few Catholics ever think of infringing so condescending a law, except the haughty philosopher, who does it as a demonstration of independence and scorn. Accordingly, before day-break, before the opening of the church, a sleepy, hurrying crowd is besieging the door for the discharge of their christian duty. The doors are thrown open. Enter traveller and his valise, — driver and his whip, — house-keeper and her basket, — sportsman and his hounds, supposing him civil enough to have left his gun at the entrance. Two meagre candles are lighted; a huge folio is open; some buzzing prayers are muttered, and so terminates what is called, *Messa degli affrettati.*

It remains to speak of those doctrines of Catholicism that are most generally considered as directly affecting the morals of the people, such as the belief in a temporal and eternal retribution in a future life, and the right granted to the ministers of

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Towards noon all the ladies' toilets are over, all the new suits of clothes are donned; — a large concourse of fine and fashionable people assemble in their favorite church, a small insignificant building, but secure from the intrusion of the vulgar. The ladies kneel at random in low pews, or are helped to chairs by the gentlemen. These last stand at the extremity of the aisle, a various, gaudy, ever-fluctuating group, talking and laughing, and from their eye-glasses darting death at the beauties on the right and left. In the interior of a small chapel, something is going on that nobody sees or hears, and nobody cares to see or hear. When that something is over, off walks the male part of the audience, and ranges itself in two long rows, leaving a narrow avenue for the passage of the ladies, who appear radiant, edified, sanctified, ready for the promenade. This is called *La messa dei belli.*

Last of all the tradesman, who, in order to supply the luxuries of the wealthy, has been at work behind the half-closed shutters of his shop, is hurried, by the last peals of the bell to the parish church, where he arrives in time to get his two thirds of what is called *La messa degli ostinati.*

In the afternoon all that the city possesses of proud horses and gilt chariots is prancing and glittering up and down the *lorso;* in the evening the *cafés* are dazzling with a thousand lamps, the theatres are trembling with the strains of intoxicating music, the private parlors are glowing with all the ardor and transport of an Italian *soirée.* This is the Sabbath in town.

In the country, in many a village of the Lombard plain, in many a parish of the remotest districts of the Appenines, is easily found as true, as pure, as ignorant a piety, as could have been in the times of the Crusades. The manners of those people are stationary, and know no progress either for better or worse. It is a race that cannot be removed from their notions any easier than one of their oaks from the spot where it grew. They are nothing to the rest of the world; the rest of the world is nothing to them. There is hardly any instance of emigration in those hamlets; hardly any of immigration. In their genealogical traditions, they go back as far as the proudest nobility in the land. The cottage of the valley is often as old as the castle towering upon the hill. Be the multiplication of the species as active as it may please providence, in those patriarchal dwellings there is room for all. Here the same roof covers the numerous branches of four generations; there, the old stock withers in loneliness, which famine or pestilence has stripped of the pride of its foliage. Vice in no shape can find its way to these sacred recesses. Were it even brought there from abroad it would perish discountenanced by that instinctive innocence; as it is said of those fortunate climates, where all reptiles are naturally harmless, and even such as are imported from foreign shores lose their venomous qualities at the very first landing.

It will be easily supposed that the tenants of such privileged districts

the altar of remitting the sins of men, and monopolizing the clemency of God on this and the other side of the tomb; — the whole theory of hell, purgatory, auricular confession, and indulgences.

The expectation of eternal rewards and punishments beyond this mortal life, of a general redress of all that seems wrong here below, is a feeling divinely implanted in the human heart, together with the almost innate belief in the immortality of the soul. It is to that feeling that we owe it, if the utmost wretchedness resignedly abides by the side of insulting opulence, if the lowest of slaves meekly raises his head to that country, where all shall be equal, where he knows that his tears are written, and his vengeance committed to the hands of the Master who is above all masters.

Some of the Protestant denominations have not hesitated to shake in great part that holy and essential belief, and have given the whole doctrine a different turn; but this supposes

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must be much addicted to the practice of going to church. No distance, in fact, no hardships of weather or roads were ever known to prevent the Lombard peasant from his devotional duties. Still before and after the fulfilment of these duties, in the intervals between the long services of his church, morning and evening, until late in the night, he gives himself up without a scruple or restraint to such enjoyments, as his limited sphere can afford. In the morning they are the sports of the wood; in the afternoon athletic exercises; — in the evening the whole village assemble, in winter in a large parlor, in summer on the threshing floor by moon-light, and there, with the music of self-taught fiddlers and pipers, seniors and matrons sitting gravely around, they appoint managers and partners, and with jigs, *tarantellas*, *furlanas*, and a variety of dances, and country dances, they go on until they feel completely rested and refreshed for the daily toils of the morrow. In all these sports the pastor is expected to join, and no joy is complete, unless he is there to take his share. We must confess we have never seen a minister dancing; but we have seen more than one rising very early with a gay company, on a fine Sunday morning, loading and shouldering his gun, and hallooing after his hounds, shooting his hare with tolerable skill and remarkable good luck; and at the ringing of the bell, hurry back to the parsonage at full gallop, wash his bloody hands in the vestry, put on in great confusion his gown, his surplice, the hundred appendages of his levitical attire, and ascend to the altar, as venerable to the eyes of his flock, as holy and infallible as ever he was. Such is the Sabbath in the country; and, as the people see no fault, and mean no harm in it, while we grieve at such a state of things, we have only the sad consolation that it has always been so, and that without a decisive subversion of all ideas and manners, there is little hope that it ever will be otherwise.

that they can put great dependence on the strong moral sense of their followers. In Italy there prevails among the most liberal minds an opinion, that such a reform could not be safely attempted, and that, were even the theory of future punishment an invention of priestcraft, it should be encouraged as a social machine, as a salutary imposition.

But the Catholic preachers, after the mysterious journey of Dante to the three kingdoms of eternity, know so much, and tell so much of that world, from which no mortal being ever returned, that their representations of the everlasting horror and gloom border on the confines of the ridiculous, and their more than poetical ingenuities lose every day a portion of their efficacy, even in the eyes of ignorance. We do not know who of the holy fathers first dreamed of Purgatory, but it was certainly a sublime inspiration, a conception full of love and charity, so far as it seemed to arrest the departed on the threshold of eternity, and by causing his everlasting salvation partly to depend on the pious exertions of those who were left behind, established a tender intercourse of pure affections, in which the usual selfishness of mortal views would not, at least, have any share.

The whole system of temporal and eternal punishment in a future life has been indiscriminately imprinted on the mind of the Catholics by a succession of unexamined traditions, and few of them doubt that the foundation of the whole fabric lies on that so controverted γεεννα του πυρος of the New Testament. And this belief is not derived from the fact, that the whole of the Scriptures, or any part of them, is denied to their perusal, as many Protestants are willing to believe; it is owing to this rather, that, together with the Bible, always inaccurately read and imperfectly understood, the Catholic admits the authority of a hundred fathers, who wrote, according to his ideas, under the inspiration of the same spirit that dictated the Gospels.

But if the Italians are led into error concerning the theory, they are not blind to the outrageous abuses that priestly avarice has introduced into the practice, and all direct and indirect taxes, and extorted alms for the dead will be naturally abolished, when a better provision shall have been made for the maintenance, dignity, and morality of the ministers of the sanctuary.*

* That of all Catholic inventions Purgatory has proved the most profitable to the wily avidity of its institutors, is an evidence not only of

Three of the longest chapters of the work of Manzoni are consecrated to vindicate, with much unction and eloquence, the penitential system of the Catholic church. He perceived, without difficulty, that confession is that part of ecclesiastical discipline against which Philosophy has directed its principal efforts; and he therefore sought to strengthen his cause on its weakest side.

We are not qualified to enter into any theological discussion, as to the sacrament being instituted by Jesus Christ himself, and the faculty being granted by him to his disciples and their successors of remitting the sins of the world. But as that institution allowed of all others the most ample latitude to the priest, and was by a natural consequence most freely abused, confession, in a moral point of view, is looked upon by thinking Catholics with more dislike than any other of their religious practices.

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the deplorable credulity, but also of the disinterestedness of the people, when we consider that such largesses are not generally intended for the temporal or spiritual welfare of the donor. Purgatory is a harvest in which the meanest of priests is enabled to reap, as every one can celebrate a mass, and masses are the greatest means resorted to for the ransom of souls. Now, since in almost every will a certain sum of money is appointed for that purpose, and when this is not done the heir is expected to supply the omission, so long as there are priests there will always be masses. The price of a mass is from fifteen cents to one dollar, and as every testator or inheritor puts such a compensation, or, as it is called, alms, as high as he can afford, it is but too natural, that those priests, who have not a regular occupation, should be perpetually hunting after the highest fees. There are in all cities certain places, generally small grog shops — (we are ashamed to write such infamies, but we are well assured of what we advance) — small grog shops, where a continual bazaar is held of masses and other such services; and thither priests flock in great numbers, each hastening to get information concerning his trade, and endeavoring to preclude his brothers and secure the best bargains.

But what is still worse; as there is generally no limit of time granted for the celebration, as the priest receives his money in advance, the fulfilment of his engagements lying altogether on his conscience, the less scrupulous accept as many masses as they can get, with the good intention of discharging them when they can. Hence, as only one mass can be said daily by the same priest, and a priest cannot live forever, it results that some of the alms-givers must rest satisfied with the good intention. We have heard of a priest who had indulged this gainful practice so far, that he was found to owe above eleven thousand masses; in which case the bishop, to whom he confessed his misdeeds, absolved him of his debts, condemning him to celebrate an expiatory mass that should be worth the eleven thousand together.

It must be confessed that the church has always made great efforts to prevent or reform abuses in an institution to which she attached a particular importance. Of the great mass of common priests only a few of the worthiest are entitled to the exercise of that ministry. Every penitent has the free choice of the director of his conscience. In some churches things are so provided as to prevent the penitent from being seen or recognised by the priest. Spiritual and temporal penalties are inflicted against any violation of the secrets of the confessional; but exactly because all such measures fail in securing that religious practice against corruption and misuse, we have reason to infer that there must be in its principles a radical vice, which can only be cured by the abolition of the whole system. And yet confession has been to a certain degree misrepresented in some Protestant countries. It is generally supposed, for instance, that absolution tends to stifle remorse by opening too easy a way to a reconciliation with God. But every child before admission to the sacrament is taught, and every priest before uttering the form of absolution inculcates, that Heaven will never sanction his words, without a profound *contrition* for his trespasses on the part of the transgressor, a firm *purpose* never to relapse into them, and a prompt *reparation* of all such wrongs and scandals, as by any human effort can yet be repaired. An able confessor does more: he dwells on the enormity of the confessed sin, on its consequences, on the dangers of habitual relapse, on the restlessness of a soul dissatisfied with itself, on the joys of conscious purity, on the hardness of heart naturally resulting from perseverance in evil, on the limits of the clemency of God, on the precariousness of life, &c. He awakens remorse where ignorance, habit, or self-indulgence had laid it asleep, and the confessional becomes not less a tribunal of penitence, as they term it, than a school of morals.

But if we have dwelt so long on such details, it was not because we meant to write an apology for auricular confession. In spite of all Sunday-school instructions and confessional admonitions, the ignorant classes do not sufficiently understand the meaning of *contrition*, *purpose*, and *reparation*. They feel only that a burden is pressing heavily on their heart, and that they can be easily relieved by running to a confessor, and laying it at his feet. In proportion as we ascend to the more enlightened classes, we find objections to confession of a different nature. We find a persuasion that the intuitive sense of good

and evil, naturally printed in the human heart, and the precepts of the holy Scriptures, are a sufficient guide to enable every man to be the best director of his own conscience; we find a disdain at the idea of the necessity of the interference of a mortal mediator between the Creator and his creature; we find reason and passion combined against a practice that degrades man in the eyes of his fellow being, and exposes the inmost folds of his heart to the gaze of another. These and other arguments, urged against confession by the sneering philosophy of the age, have brought or are bringing the reign of the confessional to an end. The best Catholics have remitted their former frequency at the tribunal of penitence; others, in great numbers, have omitted it altogether. The women themselves, who, more modest and delicate, make it a point of feminine submissiveness to adhere to their pious practices, have been obliged to yield to the influence of example; and those impertinent intruders, formerly known under the name of directors of conscience, have been almost universally dismissed.

Indulgences, based upon the same principle with confession, and in consequence liable to the same objections, are fallen into still greater discredit than the rest of the penitential system. Since the Council of Trent, the open sale of indulgences having been abolished, and the priest having had no longer any interests in them, the traffic has been neglected, and the indulgences have lost all their former importance.

From all we have said, it naturally appears, that although the traditions of their annals, long custom, and natural adhesiveness bind the Italians to what has been for a long course of years the exclusive creed of their fathers, although they look at the cross not only as a sign of universal redemption, but as a standard of national reunion and regeneration, still the progressive attacks of Protestantism, and the sudden ravages of philosophy have undermined the Catholic edifice, where it had laid its deepest foundations; and the generous souls, who show the most anxiety for its preservation, inwardly feel and openly admit the necessity of a general reformation. It appears, that, with the exception of the Catholic name, which will be perhaps adhered to through patriotic pride and delicacy, and of a few harmless mysteries and august rites, which will be respected partly through veneration and partly through policy, the general tenets of the creed of the Italians will soon be found on a level with those most generally received among the Protestant denom-

inations. It appears, that public opinion has already taken long since, and is now more than ever evidently taking that course, though its general manifestation is retarded by a fatal combination of political evils against which that unfortunate nation is struggling. The noblest pledge, the Italians can give, of their being ripe for more generous institutions, is the general moderation, the tolerant, conciliating spirit that reigns among them, though we are grieved to say that it is partly owing to the state of religious apathy into which they have fallen. When flagrant scandals and continual abuses are conspiring with a progressive culture and a restless inquisitiveness to dishearten the most imperturbable zeal,—when in the general relaxing of the bonds of prescription every man is obliged to come to partial exceptions and restrictions, to choose his own way, and form, as it were, a distinct sect by himself, he must easily know how to value the advantages of freedom of thought, and feel disposed to look upon the opinions of others with that same indulgence and impartiality that he would fain claim for his own.

The church herself has been obliged to learn forbearance from her repeated discomfitures. The thunders of the Vatican are mute, like the craters of an extinguished volcano. The monk walks downcast and wo-begone. The crafty priest tries new ways to popularity by affecting liberality of maxims and libertinism of manners. In a great number of civil and literary associations all subjects leading to religious controversies are absolutely forbidden. Neither in private nor in public life is the individual any longer accountable for his conduct to the church or the government. Strange to say, that very country, where not long ago only one religion was tolerated, is now perhaps that, where more than in any other country it is permitted to profess no religion! Studies have also been emancipated from all religious despotism. The Italian universities are republican institutions in monarchical states. Except Turin, Genoa, and Modena, where the schools are under the detested rule of the Jesuits, young students are early directed to be the sole guides of their own consciences.

Such generous measures on the part of the Italian governments were called forth by the manifestation of analogous feelings among the different classes of the people. In fact, in that country, where the number of free-thinkers is so considerably extended, an apostle of infidelity is rarely to be found. Infidelity is there rather a fashion than a conviction. Catholicism

is spurned by the learned and refined, as something *idiotic* and *vulgar*. Its dogmas and mysteries are considered only as a salutary *veil* to *blindfold* the *stupid monster with a million heads, that is called* THE PEOPLE. Before the people therefore the skeptic represses his sneers, and leaves to the illiterate his illusions and superstitions, envying perhaps in the secrecy of his heart the peace and self-satisfaction, which those absurd rites seem to bestow on the believer, and which he cannot find in all the subtleties of his logic. On the other hand, the good Catholic shakes his head with compassion and charity, endeavors to disbelieve his own eyes, at the sight of so many of the noblest minds *straying* from the *right path*, and mutters between his teeth, that "the wisdom of man is but folly in the sight of God."

We have reviewed the work of Manzoni by thus examining the state of religious opinions in the country for which the book was intended. After what we have said, it will no longer be surprising if we add, that even the great name of its author is not sufficient to gain over readers to writings of this nature. The student will discard such a book after having read the title, without further examination, adding with a contemptuous smile, that "when a whim takes him of hearing a sermon, he knows very well how to go to church as other people do."*

And yet Manzoni's great genius and sound generous heart are manifest through every page of the volume; and it may be read with much edification even among Protestants, inasmuch as, having undertaken to defend the Catholic faith against the attacks of infidelity, his cause becomes, in great part, the cause of Christianity. But, as we have here and there remarked, he undertook to prove too much; and we are afraid that his book itself will stand as an indirect proof against Catholicism, as it must be confessed that a cause must be desperate indeed, in which even such an advocate as Manzoni has no chance of success.

And is it then over indeed with Catholicism? Is the edifice of Constantine and Charlemagne, the throne of Alexander the Third, of Leo the Tenth, and Julius the Second, then crumbling to atoms? And shall the dust of time reach the proudest domes

* "Sa ella, padre mio, che quando mi viene la fantasia d'udire una predica, so benissimo andar in chiesa anch io, come gli altri."
Manzoni I. Promessi sposi. Cap. 3.

of its thousand cathedrals, and bury the relics of its thousand saints, and the blood of its thousand martyrs? And must the flame that tempered the helmet and sword of the crusader, the spirit that swelled the sails of Columbus and Vasco de Gama, that inspired the genius of Tasso and Raphael be extinguished? Be it so; a long sequence of error and crimes have ripened a fate that has now reached its plenitude. But let generous souls be permitted to mourn over the fate of that *Catholic* system of faith and worship, for which the world will not soon agree upon a substitute. The visiter, musing over the remains of a feudal castle, trampling under his feet towers and battlements levelled to the ground, and arches, and monuments, and fragments of armor, cannot repress a pang of regret, as his fancy runs back to the days of greatness, of valor, and of courtesy that are no more; and in his chivalrous enthusiasm he forgets that from that rocky nest the bloody falcon rushed forth, the pirate of the air, the terror of the valley, and that while he wheeled his indefatigable course through the firmament, at every uttering of his ominous shriek, at every shaking of his mighty pinions, a harmless flock was quaking with anguish and terror within the inmost recesses of their foliage.

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ART. II. — 1. *Historical Sketches of the Old Painters.* By THE AUTHOR OF THREE EXPERIMENTS OF LIVING. Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. 1838. pp. 296.

2. *Catalogue of the Twelfth Exhibition of Paintings at the Athenæum Gallery.* Boston. 1838.

HERE we have in the first of these volumes popular sketches of the lives, and some hints concerning the styles of those great artists, whose genius has so long thrilled the heart of Europe, and is year by year making itself more felt in our own country. The book is from the author of those little tracts on domestic life, which have enjoyed such a remarkable popularity, both here and in England. It may therefore be known beforehand to deserve attention. To those, indeed, who are conversant with Vasari, Condivi, Mengs, Lanzi, and the other biographers and

critics, it will not perhaps bring much instruction; but that large class of readers, who are not accustomed to refer to the original sources of information, will find in it interesting notices of men of whom they may have known little else than the names, and who are daily becoming more the subjects of our curiosity and admiration.

Leaving the book we turn to its subject, and wonder anew at the coming and departure of that brilliant era, which Michael Angelo, Raphael, Titian, and Coreggio illustrated. We look back to that age as to a temporary unveiling of heaven, and as we observe the splendid phenomena which there appear, we ask ourselves with eager curiosity, what were the causes of its coming, and whether we may hope to see such times again.

In order to make the inquiry, first, notice the general facts. In the beginning of the 16th century, there appeared in widely separated cities of Italy, under climates not the same, and very different governments, three men, who, without acquaintance with each other, or with each other's works, (for neither Raphael, Coreggio, nor Titian ever saw either of the others,) became, each in his own way, the greatest painters of the world. The same sudden and unparelleled development took place in a multitude of less distinguished men, under like various circumstances, and comprehending a great variety of character.

From what cause did this occur? This question has been answered differently. The result has been attributed by some to the patronage bestowed by the aristocracy and clergy of the time, and the anxiety of the Holy See to infuse new ardor into the lukewarm people by magnificent embellishments of its religious edifices. To this it might be answered that patronage only disturbs mean minds with turbulent hopes, while it is unnecessary to the magnanimous, so that the class to be benefited by it is only a small mediocrity; and secondly, that the history of the art shows us that some of the greatest painters were without it, and that many attained their excellence before they had enjoyed or expected it. Raphael was great before he was known, and he had no reason to expect the unparalleled favor which he came to enjoy. Coreggio was unhonored. Domenichino was despised. And for an example of pecuniary remuneration, Annibal Caracci, in his palmy time spent nearly eight years in painting the palace of Cardinal Farnese, and was paid only five hundred dollars. It would be

found that the most splendid rewards were reserved for the imitative talent of pupils of the deserving; but when genius had departed, the favor of the great could not recall it.

Besides, why did the patronage take this direction? Why did not the Pope and the nobles employ gilders and cabinet makers to embellish their houses? The existence of the patronage implies the prior existence of the taste in the minds of the patrons, and if in them, then also in the other intelligent classes, and when we have arrived at this, the patronage and the genius on which it is bestowed become coördinate manifestations of the same spirit.

Some attribute the splendid phenomena, for which we are endeavoring to account, to the genius of the Catholic religion, imaginative, dealing in sensible forms. But the same cause had been operating for ten centuries before, without producing the effect; the same religion continues, and no artists arise. This was by no means a period of enthusiastic faith in the church. On the contrary, it was the period of the Reformation, when men had learned to hate the church and despise the pontiffs; and nowhere, we are told, was reverence for the Holy See less than among the intelligent classes of its own dominions.

Was it the relics of ancient art that inspired the modern? It is true that, towards the end of the 15th century, the discovery of some of the finest specimens (as the Apollo and the Laocoön) rewarded the taste which sought them. But the soil of Italy had been strewn with beauty for ages. The Pantheon had stood through Gothic invasion and the ravages of Attila, and no one was found to clear the rubbish from its base. The Jupiter of the Capitol was melted into a Peter, and the Colosseum was torn to pieces to build a house for Prince Farnese. — Undoubtedly these influences were operative, though secondary. Patronage fostered talent, and encouraged aptness to follow its bent. Inspiration dwelt in Catholicism, as well as in less corrupt forms, and ancient statues refined an already awakened taste. But we must look farther for the moving cause. And perhaps we shall arrive at nothing satisfactory till we come to the immediate providence of God. For frequently, to the thoughtful inquirer, it will seem that human affairs flow on in their appointed channel, while man floats like a bubble on the stream, a component part, but having no command over its direction. It will be satisfactory, however, to be

able to perceive how the growth of Italian art was connected with the other movements of the time.

The Crusades, — which were the travels by which young Europe completed its juvenile education, — and the consequent enlarged intercourse of nations, the rise of free towns, the discovery of Justinian's Pandects, the rapid multiplication and spread of manuscripts, on account of the substitution of paper for parchment, had as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries resulted in a new light cast on man and nature. Men became observers and inquirers. Manifestations of a new activity were seen in every quarter, different according to the characters, climates, circumstances in which it appeared. It is not without meaning that Tell, Wallace, Dante, and Giotto were contemporaries. On distant theatres, they were not disconnected; but expressing differently the same spirit, they were unconsciously fellow prophets of the same future. Man rose to wholly unwonted self-respect, which impelled to freedom and great action, whether in the direction of philosophy, as in Germany, or in that of art, as in Italy, or of law, as in England. Afterwards, increased intercourse and knowledge of the earth, resulting from the discovery of the mariners compass, and the diffusion, by means of printing, of the Scriptures, of ancient literature, and of what there was of modern, and of information of every kind, carried still higher the respect for mankind and for nature, and like new-created Eve, when first she went,

> "With unexperienced thought and laid her down
> On the green bank, to look into the clear
> Smooth lake, that to her seemed another sky,"

so regenerated man, when he saw himself reflected from liberal institutions and from literature, became nobly enamored of himself. In other countries, natures, climates, the passion took deeper course. But in Italy it resulted in an admiration, which had the strength of an appetite for all *expressions* of man, for form, feature, all the displays of human beauty, dignity, or grace. Nor was this all. That admiration extended itself to all external manifestations of mind, whether human or divine. As the released prisoner, after long confinement, expatiates with curiosity and delight over the world he had forgotten, so Italy, issuing from the confinement of ignorance, looked about her, and was surprised to find the world so fair. With her the eye and the mind were not chilled nor enervated

by frosts or torrid heat. The higher meaning of nature was perceived. While Germany reasoned of God, the Italian saw him. What were metaphysics to him? In the Eden which lay around him, physics were transparent, and nothing hindered him from looking at the real through the apparent. All excellencies were to be found in the varied God around; and it therefore became the most inspiring and the most honored employment to observe, imitate, abstract, recombine, and preserve for future time the passing appearances of life. In separating the perfect from the imperfect, or in idealizing what he observed, the artist was assisted by the remains of Grecian taste with which the soil was strewn, and his taste was refined and fancy enkindled by ancient literature which came now to be generally read. The elegance of the age of Pericles was transferred to Rome, and Greece put the West under still a new debt to her, in the emigration of her men of letters and taste, on the ruin of the Eastern Empire in 1440. The Scriptures too were read, and men began really to receive the revelation of fifteen centuries before. The Madonna and the crucifixion had formerly been nearly the only subjects of the art. Now all the scenes of the New and of the Old Testament exercised the imagination; and artists vied with each other, which should be best able, from the revelation of the present, to represent in visible forms the revelation that was past. But it was not by furnishing subjects alone that the Scriptures gave their assistance. They breathed the spirit of art. They taught to see the infinite in the finite, and again to express the infinite in the finite. They told of a time when the supernatural and the natural had been united. They excited to sublime contemplations, filled the fancy with visions of bliss, and inspired a superiority to the cares of life. What book could so excite and at the same time chasten the ideal man as the Bible? To the union of its influence with the other influences no less divine of which we have spoken, we are indebted for the loveliest creation of the human mind, the Italian Madonna, for the images of Magdalen, the Savior, and St. John, as they exist in the minds of most of us, for Judith, Moses, and Abraham. In portraying the persons and scenes of holy writ, its sublime truths, its sacred principles, and entrancing promises were also expressed. While Luther harangued on the nature of faith from the pulpits of Wertemberg, Raphael was reproducing to the world the images which

excited it, and commemorating with his pencil the sufferings of those who attested its powers; and it might be a question which of these two men embodied the most of the essentials of religion in his works.

From reflections like these, one may conduct himself to a recognition of the causes of the growth of Italian Art. There are also other circumstances which he will not fail to observe. He will take notice that, while the period in question was a period of commerce and intercommunication, offering objects enough to curiosity to keep the perceptions quick, and rewards enough to enterprise to maintain a healthy activity, the analysis of science had not begun to bind the attention on the minute, nor were the rewards so alluring as to absorb the public in business. A man might quietly paint in Rome, or wander among the ruins of the Palatine, without being annoyed by skepticism or distracted by the *glittering temptations of trade.* To the skeptic, he had a simple answer, that he *saw* those beings whose existence was disputed; and as for business, it took the turbulent away, and left the spiritual to more genial occupations.

Farther, one will not fail to observe that, though the Italians lived under arbitrary governments, they enjoyed many of the blessings of freedom. Among them, Artists were in some measure a privileged class, and all possessed, in a peculiar degree, the only kind of liberty allowed to the citizens of the modern States of Europe, the power of fleeing from one dominion to another. Thus Michael Angelo fled from Rome on account of the threats of Julius the Second. It was a time too, when intolerable oppression was not safe for fear of neighbors; and when there was little cause for it, because the Italians were not minded to quarrel about creeds; and in most of the states, the supplies of government, either by commerce or by contribution, were drawn from abroad.

In turning to our own times, and endeavoring to judge of the future by the past, we must not suppose that it is only a certain concurrence of influences that can produce great painters. Art, as well as religion or science, is a natural action of the mind of man, and a great variety of circumstances may be brought to foster it. *Its life is the perception of the spiritual in the material.* Whatever develops this, tends to advance Art.

But in looking at our own country, it will be found that many circumstances of peculiar encouragement exist here.

1. We have within our borders, all the climates of the temperate zone. The apple, the orange, and the fig are all at home among us. Were the climate of New England all, we might perhaps despair of a light æsthetic culture becoming general. The senses are here alternately frozen and parched, and so become blunted and dimmed. The season drives us within doors, or annoys us without, and hinders us from perceiving the charms of nature. Continual colds obstruct our organs of vision and of smell. We enjoy no music when it comes to us on the east wind. The song of the bird is not heard through our closed windows, or he is mute under the intolerable sun. With all this we have had two great painters. But ours is not all. There are more genial spots. In our centre we have an atmosphere like that in which the Flemish school grew up, and at St. Augustine, in Florida, is to be found the air of Italy.

2. Our natural scenery, at once grand and beautiful, to the picturesque variety of which will soon be added the milder beauties of high cultivation, is continually tending to awaken the spirit of art. It would be a great shame to our people, and ought not to be expected, that nature should forever spread herself before us in vain. The continent of America, separated from all that is human on it, ought to inspire the dwellers on its surface with a magnanimity and beauty of character, corresponding to the revelation of divinity it makes. The American must eventually become tenderly alive to outward beauty. Shall that display of God, which rouses the transient visiter from the old countries, not move the soul of the habitual beholder? Is utilitarianism going to enslave us? Must prudence be our cardinal virtue, and a knowledge of law the highest wisdom? Is the interchange of Scripture phrases to be our religion, and shall God ever be contemplated in the past alone? Many of our chief blessings we have yet learned to turn only to their lowest uses. Our peasant tills the earth, but he receives only half its produce. Our students read the past, but heed not the interpretation in the present. The citizen's heartiest thanks are bestowed on the mechanic who improves or cheapens his family supplies. "Quousque humi defixa tua mens erit? nonne vides quæ in templa veneris?" Can it be that man coming from the old world into this temple, as it were, newly erected for him, should be so greedy for the precious pavement as not to see the shrine? To many of our countrymen the line of the poet,

"Mankind was sent into the world to see,"

has little meaning. They have not yet learned to put their eyes to their best use. They reason of God, when they might turn and behold him; and many a man, now mourning in the darkness of a gloomy faith, has a great joy awaiting him, when he shall find that that God, whom he has sought in the depths of metaphysics, and on the soiled page of revelation, is under his hand and before his eye; that he is to look out of the window to see him, just as he looks to see his friend; the spirit indeed concealed, but the form, the manifestation, the means of expression and communication visible. It will tend much to make our faith more operative, to unite it to outward nature from which it has been divorced. Art and religion should advance hand in hand, through the same path; materialism is alike the deadly enemy of both; and in order to bring ourselves to true spirituality of character, the spirit of art must be brought into operation, to teach the meaning of the material universe by which we are surrounded, as well as philosophy to extend and methodize the knowledge of the internal revelation of mind.

But in order that art should arise, that spirituality of character must to some extent prevail. This present influences do something to ensure. Our present insensibility cannot continue. While it is a necessary phasis of the popular character, let it not be quarrelled with. We are now, as it were, laying in stores; and by and by we shall sit down and live.

3. We have a variety of races, which, though it has as yet produced some confusion and bad manners, will, it is to be trusted, by all kind and degree of intermingling, result in a population apt to various excellence. We receive accessions from Italy and Greece themselves, from Poland, Great Britain, and from France, all good blood in its way.

4. Our government favors art by letting it alone. All we want on the part of law is liberty.

5. Another very encouraging circumstance is the beauty of domestic life in our country. That this circumstance is, in some measure at least, to give direction to American art, is very evident. The great part of our artists are now occupied in painting portraits and family scenes. And, although some would argue unfavorably from this, that art is being divorced from the ideal which alone makes it interesting, yet who will say that any appearances of nature are more exciting to the imagination, or gratifying to the taste than the choice scenes of

domestic life? Let it be observed that among the most interesting works of the old schools are portraits of friends. Those of Titian's which are best known are of that character. Raphael's celebrated Madonna della Seggia is of an interest purely domestic. The apprehension is unfounded. The graces, the love, the delicacy, the delights, the tragedies of family life are the choice subjects of the painter. There is no disconnection between home and heaven; but on the contrary they seem to touch and mingle. Over no spot may angels be more fitly supposed to hover, than over the pillow of sleeping infancy, or the prostration of bereaved love. Moreover, the intimate observation of one another which home begets, tends to produce a more nice perception and a fuller knowledge, than has heretofore existed, of the varieties of expression in the human countenance and frame. What a field of observation is here! Something of the effect we anticipate seems already to have been produced. Our American women, who visit Italy, are not satisfied with the children in the pictures. Even Domenichino's and Coreggio's cherubs do not satisfy them. They insist that they have seen more delicate, more ravishing beauty in their own offspring.

Thus it appears that, though the present state of the public mind be adverse, our climate, our country, our institutions, the nature of our social relations, and our blood, that is, all which is endearing among us, favor the growth of art.

Nor ought we perhaps to omit to observe that the advanced state of the mechanical arts, and of chemical science, affords the materials of painting in great abundance and perfection. Certainly, in another way, the useful arts and sciences have rendered a signal service, in inventing methods by which a painting may be preserved indefinitely. Not only smoke, dust, and stains are now removed with ease, and oil or varnish added as may be needed, but a decayed canvass, or pannel of wood, is taken from behind the picture and replaced by a new one. The Madonna del Foligno of Raphael, for instance, now in the Vatican Gallery at Rome, when taken to Paris by Napoleon, was on wood. The picture was very much defaced, the wood was warped and split, the worms had perforated it with holes, and it was threatened with speedy destruction. The Academy decided that it should be transferred to a new surface, and appointed a committee of mechanics, and a chemical committee, and a committee of art to have it done. A workman was

found of sufficient skill and ingenuity, by whom all accretions were first removed from the surface, and several thicknesses of paper and cloth pasted on it; it was then laid on a large table, and by a multitude of wedges of dry wood driven into the back side, and afterwards wet, the board was restored from the curve, which it had contracted, to a level; then the wood was gradually removed by cutting, filing, and rubbing for many months, until without accident the original ground-color of the great artist was laid bare, and what was still more interesting, the original outline, sketched upon it in pencil or charcoal, which not only threw light on his manner, but removed by its correspondence with the finished picture some doubts with regard to the authenticity of one of the figures. A new and strong canvass was then stuck to the back, the paper &c. taken away from the front surface, reparations made, oil and varnish added, and there the picture is, as fresh to the sight as when just painted. Those, who wish to be informed of the details of the operation, will find them in the reports of the committees in the transactions of the Academy.

Thus, and by the art of Mosaic, the beautiful productions of the great masters seem to be secured to us forever. The genius of the past is ever ready to instruct us.

It only remains to take a glance at the actual state of the art among us, and the present state of mind with regard to it among the people. We have spoken of the general deficiency among us of love of external nature; and we shall have occasion to show how this connects itself, and is in fact one, with ignorance of art.

We cannot yet speak of a national school. Our painters in general have not yet entered the higher regions of art, but have for the most part been contented with imitation, without tasking themselves to compose. They are not bad colorists, though indistinct and timid; but they are almost without exception deficient in the art of design. Even Stuart's heads are sometimes out of drawing. If we should make the same criticism more positively with regard to Allston, we should probably be thought presuming, and perhaps rightly so. At any rate, these two men are our pride. Stuart's portraits yield almost to none. It is Titian over again. And Allston seems very generally and very justly to be ranked among the great geniuses of the art. His style is new and his own. His outlines are indistinct,

not drawn with that decisiveness which marks the Roman school; but in coloring he unites much of the excellence of Correggio and of Venice. His landscapes are unostentatious, clear, and masterly in aërial perspective. His works are to be picked out among thousands. In invention and composition he commands our admiration. He is great among poets.

The patronage bestowed on art among us is more than commensurate with the talent displayed. The prices which are reported as having been paid for some of our best productions indicate no mean scale of compensation. Our people are quite desirous of ornamenting their houses with paintings. Many are brought from Italy every year; and, though it is very true that their eagerness is somewhat undiscriminating, and that they bring over some pretty bad pictures, there seem to be very plain indications that there will be no want of patronage for Artists as they appear.

It is true that we are not prepared for the full appreciation of the highest excellence. Although our people manifest a relish for the productions of the Italian schools, their partialities are sometimes on the side of inferior merit, such as that of Carlo Dolci, our chief favorite, — a painter of a sweet taste and exquisite finish, whose mind was not disturbed, nor his industry interrupted, by any of the bad passions, but whose chief praise is that of patient industry. The much-loved Madonna at the Gallery is ascribed to him only by conjecture. It has not so much blue in its coloring as he was accustomed to use; and the hands are not characteristic of him. It has, however, his feebleness; and its interest consists in that trait of character, which is the only thing which he could represent well, simple, unidealized devotion. The unnatural pearly complexion, and the disregard, which is seen in it, of the delicate traits of expression, contrast, greatly to its disadvantage, with the spirited manner of the portrait by Vandyke by its side.

There are many other pieces in this excellent collection which we would gladly notice; but we will content ourselves with turning to Guido's Judith, in which we have an excellent specimen of his manner, and a work characteristic of his fancy. The unity, the classic elegance, the beauty of the head, all belong to Guido. The feet and hands of his finest figures are always of surpassing beauty; and in this picture we are reminded of those lines in Judith's song of thanksgiving,

> Her sandals ravished his eyes;
> Her beauty took his mind prisoner.

Guido's conception of the character of the Jewess is very simple and effective. It is that of pure heroism, with as little mixture of the gentler emotions as is consistent with human nature. In this respect Allori's conception of the same subject, as seen in the picture numbered 25 in the Catalogue, presents a strong contrast; and we greatly prefer it to the other. Guido's Judith has executed the deed without compunction, as well as without fear; Allori's, only after a painful struggle with her own heart, by which it has been benumbed, and for a season quieted. And this latter is the idea which the story communicates to us. She had lost a husband, whom she seems to have loved deeply, by a sudden death. That she was a woman of a tender heart appears from her long mourning and seclusion, and from the affection with which she was regarded, and with which she spoke. "And there was none that gave her an ill word; for she feared God greatly." Her religious faith was too strong and pure to leave her heart hard. It could only have been therefore after painful meditation, that she was strengthened in her heroic resolution. Tears had been exhausted, and faith wholly possessed her subdued soul. In Guido's picture we have none of this; but as little as possible of the woman and the mourner. In Allori's we have it all. About the lips we see the expression of a heart quieted after great agitation; and in the whole countenance faith and love of duty reign. To address herself to God, she does not need to look up, like Guido's Judith; she feels the Deity all around her, and seems to be repeating to herself inwardly,

> "For the mountains shall be moved from their foundations
> with the waters,
> The rocks shall melt as wax at thy presence:
> Yet thou art merciful to them that fear Thee.
> For all sacrifice is too little for a sweet savor unto Thee,
> And all the fat is not sufficient for thy burnt offering:
> But he that feareth the Lord is great at all times."

It is observable also, how in the countenance the excitement, which accompanied the deed, has been calmed, while in the limbs, which are less subject to the sentiment, indications still remain of the mind having been summoned to its greatest energy. There are no such exquisite spiritualities to be studied out in Guido's figure. He makes the deed the deed of an Amazon; and her religious faith is not of a tender kind; she is proud, the other is humble; she looks upward for God, Allori's

walks in his very midst. Allori's picture seems to us in perfect harmony with the following stirring passage from the song of thanksgiving.

"He bragged that he would burn up my borders,
And kill my young men with the sword,
And dash the sucking children against the ground,
And make mine infants as a prey,
And my virgins as a spoil.
But the Almighty Lord hath disappointed them
By the hand of a woman.
For the mighty one did not fall by the young men,
Neither did the sons of the Titans smite him,
Nor high giants set upon him:
But Judith, the daughter of Merari, weakened him
With the beauty of her countenance.
For she put off the garment of her widowhood
For the exaltation of those that were oppressed in Israel,
And anointed her face with ointment,
And bound her hair in a tire,
And took a linen garment to deceive him.
Her sandals ravished his eyes,
Her beauty took his mind prisoner,
And the falchion passed through his neck."

When we have been contemplating this picture, we have asked ourselves whether the satisfaction we experienced was not testimony to the falsity of the ultra peace principles. If to take life were in all cases a crime, an offence against heaven and our own souls, should we not feel a horror at being presented with such a picture as this, and be warned by inward shuddering of the will of God? For all great sins, sensuality, cruelty, slaughter of the innocent, one feels an overwhelming disgust; but before the Judith one joins in the salutation of her countrymen, "Thou art the exaltation of Jerusalem! thou art the great glory of Israel! thou art the great rejoicing of the nation! Thou hast done all these things by thine hand: thou hast done much good to Israel, and God is pleased therewith: blessed be thou of the Almighty God for evermore."

One notices also the head of Holofernes in Allori's picture as being superior to that of Guido's. The latter presents the features still in the calm repose of sleep; Allori, on the contrary, under the pangs of the waking and dying struggle.

There were more good pictures at the Gallery the past year, than we have ever seen there before. We are very glad to find it so. It is important that the collection should increase, and improve, and attract the attention of the people. The sight of

works of genius, bringing into visible forms the high ideas, the profound and divine sentiments, the noble acts of the soul, cannot fail to refine and inspire the heart. The favor, which this exhibition receives, attests a degree of taste for art in the community.

A taste truly developed, however, is confined for the most part to a small class, who have been under circumstances peculiarly favorable to its development. We have a great number of the productions of the Italian schools within our borders. But the enjoyment and use of them is confined. Our artists are not seen studying and copying them, any more than sketching from casts of the antique marbles, or laboring in the dissecting room. In spite of the many favoring circumstances which have been mentioned, the spirit of art is but beginning to be developed. The present state may be considered quite low. And of this we see many indications. — First, the character of our artists. The spirit of gain has possessed them as well as the rest of the people. Instead of venturing into the heights, they grow rich in the unvaried perpetration of tasteless portraits, whose chief end is to flatter the vanity of this and that foolish customer. The painters of a more spiritual time labored with gladness in poverty and solitude. Lewis Caracci espoused the art, knowing she had no dowry. But our painters love soft beds and fat purses and good dinners. They make their profession a trade. There are indeed honorable exceptions; and on them we rely to do whatever is to be done. But we have no hope from mercenary men. It is very true that it is just as innocent to get one's living by painting faces as by painting houses; and our artists may be as good as our lawyers or our merchants. But in order to deserve the name of artists, they must be much better. The true artist is a pattern of spirituality, a living illustration of the primal principle of art, that heaven is all, — that everything around us is a manifestation of spirit, and that the beauty of our life comes from the spiritual beauty within. In short, it is a solecism to speak of an unspiritual artist; and while a people remains unspiritual, Art cannot flourish among them.

Observe, too, what are generally the favorites here. The chief recommendation among us is a soft finish, — an indication that a picture is regarded more as a piece of furniture, than as a creation of the human mind. A harsh coloring, or a collection of smoke, or want of varnish, may spoil a piece for us.

Then again we object to anachronisms. We are displeased with the two Saints who are introduced kneeling at the Transfiguration, and some even go so far as to leave them out in copies. But to art there is no time. Beauty is absolute and eternal. And the history of man is but a momentary phasis of heaven, a single scene in which all epochs are alike present to the elevated soul. This distinction of art seems to be little understood. It is very common to object also to the introduction of the supernatural; we are willing to see only what has been or may be seen; and here contradict another fundamental principle of Art by regarding it as merely imitative. Art does not imitate, but creates. Its object is to express its conceptions in whatever way, whether in the manner in which God has already expressed the same, or in new and unexperienced representations. There is no limit between heaven and earth; the ideal and the visible are one. The idea exists in the mind of the artist; and he is to express it by any appropriate means, by any combination of color and form which may be invented, whether by figures of men, animals, or cherubs, and by any tone of coloring whether actual or not, provided it be appropriate to the idea. Art therefore embodies the ministering angels in visible shape, and reveals the abode of beatified spirits; and when it aspires to represent even the Deity himself, it does not mean to say that God possesses a corporeal frame, but only strives to express its idea of his nature. The more vivid our faith in the existence of superior spirits shall become, the more willing shall we be to see them made to appear in works of art. And again, we object to nudity. In the eye of Art, modesty and unconscious purity are the only necessary garments. How far this principle may be carried out in the midst of an evil race, it is difficult to say. But it is to be observed, that a perfectly free exposure of the person in pictures and statues, seems to excite no more passion in countries where it is common, than among us the open exposure of the face and hands, which a Turk would think indecent.

From the general insensibility to beauty, and errors in judgment and taste, which have been noticed, it is evident that we are at present very deficient in the spirit of Art. Did this popular deficiency merely regard the perception of technical excellences, it might be regretted, but would not be to be mourned. But it allies itself with, and is in fact but one manifestation of a deep defect of national character. The want of understanding

the picture implies an insensibility to the reality. He, that prefers softness to the other excellences of the art, is ignorant of the highest beauty in the living form. The man, who prefers a pink picture of the Alps to a landscape of Allston's, living out the same spirit, builds on a sand hill, levels the woods all around him, selects poplars instead of oaks or elms to line the road, and paints his house in painful contrast of white and green or brick color. He is insensible also to the delicate beauties of action; for a gross taste is nearly allied to a dull conscience. He treats you without civility, and is perpetually annoying you with little wrongs. The spirit which is shocked at the introduction of the supernatural, and the union of different epochs, is practically in some manner estranged from that Being who unites all times and worlds; it will not listen to speculation; it ridicules and so persecutes the Swedenborgian, degrades ethics, and prepares a virtual rejection of the miracles of Christianity. The same insensibility to the natural dignity, purity, and beauty of the human figure diminishes our anxiety to preserve it uncorrupt, and manifests itself also in the ridiculous uniformity of dress, in exposure for fashion's sake to the inclemencies of the season, and in such monstrous and cruel deformities of the female figure, as are to be looked for among the savages of the northwest coast. When posterity shall know the fashionable length of a lady's girdle of the present time, their astonishment at the low state of our Art will be diminished. Insensibility to the spiritual in matter, in short, is a radical defect of our people. The consequence is a degradation of matter to its lowest uses. Our fields give us bread, but not instruction. The body gratifies our appetites, but not our taste and sentiments.

The artist is not necessarily a religious man, but he has the spirit from which all religion springs. It is possible that he should be intemperate, voluptuous, and unjust. But his art is perpetually warring with these vices, and, unless it conquers, will retreat before them. He may be sensible to the beautiful qualities in external nature, without uniting them in his conception as God. So the Christian and Philosopher may be such, and yet not practically religious; he may have a belief in Christ and faith in God, and be able to reason with irresistible power for his existence, with a definite conception of his nature, and yet not feel that the being of whom he reasons has a vital concern in the present moment and the present action. In the true man, those two characters are united. He is both Philo-

sopher and Artist. He knows God by reason in the past and absolute, and by his senses in the present and passing. He not only conceives him, but realizes him. The qualities he perceives in Nature, by the aid of Christianity he personifies. He adds love to faith and knowledge. Until this union of the spirit of Philosophy and the spirit of Art be brought about, the seers will be complaining and longing for a better day.

That better day must come. Everything encourages us to expect it. For the present, we are engaged in building up the nation, and laying in stores. We are absorbed in business. But when the barbarism of trade shall have fled before the light of beauty, when all the avenues of life being full, the spiritually minded, finding it hard to get much, shall content themselves with little, and despairing of the means of wealth, shall lay direct hold on that for which alone wealth was to be obtained; when the true secret of riches, man's command over his own wants, being at last known, shall be brought to bear to make him independent of the world, in order that he may understand and enjoy it, and weary of perpetual restlessness, we shall finally turn to the tranquil contemplation of that picture which God has so long held before our eyes in vain. Then the spirit of Art, finding our actions worthy and our minds prepared, will descend and take up her abode. Then Christianity will meet with a much heartier embrace, and men, seeing God all around them, will submit themselves more and more daily to his holy will.

G. F. S.

ART. III. — *Life and Select Discourses of* REV. SAMUEL H. STEARNS. Boston: Josiah A. Stearns, and Whipple and Damrell. 1838. 8vo. pp. 420.

IT gives us pleasure to offer a passing tribute of respect to the subject of this Memoir, though he was classed amongst a sect of Christians to which we do not belong; and formed some important dogmas of his religious belief in formularies of doctrine to which we cannot subscribe. In many respects,

however, he was assimilated to that large and constantly increasing number of the followers of Christ, who are to be designated, exclusively, by no party badge; who were "first called Christians at Antioch;" who are gathered from all subsequent ages; and who are, hereafter, to constitute that glorious company of Accepted Ones, which "no man can number," who shall come "from the East and from the West, and from the North and from the South, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God." Mr. Stearns appears to have been a man of thorough, unaffected piety, of much native independence of mind, and of simple, direct, and avowed aims. Indeed, the beautiful lines of Coleridge, which, slightly altered, have recently been inscribed, with singular propriety, on the gravestone of a sister spirit,* though of a different communion, may also be applied to him: —

> "His soul was so transparent, that the light
> He sought, enshrined itself within him."

The brief notice we are about to take of the volume before us, and it must, necessarily, be brief and sketchy, will at least be free from that bias which results from the partiality of friendship, since it has not been among our privileges to know, personally, either the subject or the author of the Memoir. And while we thank the latter for the pleasing and instructive reminiscences he has here given us of his brother, and offer our cheerful acknowledgments of the fraternal love and obvious truthfulness of the narrative, it is proper to say that our whole acquaintance with either party has been derived solely from the "Life and Discourses" thus put into our hands.

Samuel H. Stearns was born at Bedford, Massachusetts, September 12th, 1801. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Samuel Stearns, who, during the large part of a long life, was pastor of the church in that place. Mr. Stearns's constitution of body was feeble, and his health was never firm. Though playful and happy in his childhood, his manner, even then, was marked by a certain shade of gravity and thoughtfulness. The morning of his life was fair, but seemed to be pervaded by the solemnity of the early twilight. He enjoyed that primal bless-

* Mrs. Cecilia Brooks, wife of Rev. Charles Brooks of Hingham, Massachusetts.

ing of Divine Providence, the habitual society and influence of a judicious, pious, devoted mother. She was

"The companion, rather than the governess of her children, spared no pains to inspire his young heart with just and honorable emotions, — to elevate his mind above the seductive influence of evil companions, — to fill his head with arguments and pithy answers, for those, by whom the principles in which he was educated might be assailed, — and, *without seeming to do it*, to give him that thirst for knowledge and for elevating pursuits, on which all eminence, that is worthy of the name, so much depends. These attentions he repaid by uniform confidence, obedience, respect, affection, and general improvement." — p. 11.

His father's influence was also well-directed and salutary.

"At this age he was taught, by easy but regular tasks, with alternate studies, to labor upon the soil and direct the affairs of a farm; it being a favorite doctrine of his father's, that, as common sense is not often gathered from books alone, 'no boy is fit for college, till he knows how to work.' Here also, in the performance of these tasks, he acquired those habits of faithfulness and thoroughness, which were ever after among the prominent features of his character." — p. 11.

He was thus greatly favored in the circumstances of his infancy and childhood. Remote from the peculiar temptations and the thousand "time-wasters" of a city residence, on the one hand; and from that grinding toil and exposure to gross indulgence which often debase a country life, on the other; engaged alternately in rural occupations and in earnest study; living in close and elevating communion with beautiful natural scenery; partaking largely of that true-hearted intercourse which yet delightfully characterize many of our villages; in a word, nurtured among the gracious and conservative influences of one of our New-England religious homes in the country; young Stearns passed the early period of his life under the most favorable auspices. The sun, in his circuit, it may be, shines on fairer spots than these, but on none holier or happier, and on none more propitious to the full and genial development of a pure and manly character.

At the age of fifteen, he entered Phillips Academy in Andover; and it was, at this period, that the fruits of his early religious education were more fully matured. His con-

dition, as a religious being in the sight of God, here and now engrossed all his serious thoughts; and after much spiritual conflict, having been encouraged by the advice of friends, and especially by the counsel of his parents, who thought that "those lambs of the flock which have the good Shepherd's mark, are safest in the fold," he, in his sixteenth year, made a public profession of his faith in Christ, in the church of his father at Bedford. This event, in itself full of solemn interest, is affectingly described in the Memoir. "Never," says the writer, "will the surviving children of that family forget the emotions which swelled their hearts, as this brother stood forth in the congregation, a frail child, almost overpowered by the scene, and, in the presence of God, the holy angels, and that assembly, made his everlasting covenant with heaven." And the few but deeply-fraught words of his father, addressed to him on this occasion, go directly to every father's heart. — "I view this," said he, "among the happiest days of my life, — far more so than to have seen you an heir to the wealth of the Indies, or the splendor of an earthly crown. O, my son, let God have the empire of your heart, for it is his just due. Let Christ have the devotion and service of your life, for he it is who died for you, and by whose grace alone your life is worth possessing."

In the autumn of 1819, Mr. Stearns, then nearly eighteen years old, was entered as a Freshman in Harvard University. "The choice of a college," we are told, "had been a matter of earnest solicitude, both to the parents and the son. * * * Their predilections were all in favor of Harvard; but many circumstances led them to hesitate, and finally to decide, with trembling." What these circumstances were it is not difficult to divine, though they are not distinctly stated. Among them, the principal one, doubtless, was the fear of an influence hostile to "Evangelical" piety, as it is termed, and to what, by a large class of our fellow Christians, are denominated "Orthodox" principles. It is time, however, that the community had outgrown this prejudice. It is quite time it was better understood, that it is the high and peculiar distinction of this time-honored University, that while it earnestly inculcates the Evidences of Christianity, and those principles of religious belief in which Christians generally agree, it leaves to the individual pupil, under the guidance of his parents, friends, and natural guardians, to ascertain for himself, as he must an-

swer for himself, those peculiar forms of faith, in which he may conscientiously believe the "truth as it is in Jesus" is embodied. It extends, as far as possible, a parental watchfulness and care to the moral character of its pupils; guards them from that worst of all heresies, a wicked life; puts into their hands, as Text books, such writings as "Paley's Evidences," and the immortal "Analogy" of Butler; offers to them a forcible and persuasive illustration of the spirit and power of religion in the example and teachings of its honored Head and of its professed religious Instructers; — but does not feel itself authorized, as a public institution, and one intended for the common benefit of all classes of christians and citizens, to preoccupy the immature minds of the young, with any of the distinctive forms of belief into which the Christian world is divided. In a word, the "head and front of its offending" is, — not that it *does* inculcate a creed, but that it does *not* inculcate one. In the same liberal and comprehensive spirit, it extends its benefactions to all who need them, according to their moral character and claims as students, without so much as asking the question what their religious opinions may be. Indeed, we speak advisedly when we say, that there is not an individual connected with the government of the University, who would not think it derogatory to his character to suppose it possible, that he could, for a moment, be influenced in his treatment of a pupil, by any consideration like this. "Government," says the young man whose life we are reviewing, and who, with his parents decided in their choice of Harvard University, "with fear and trembling," — "Government seem ready to make every allowance, and grant every indulgence, but I fear I shall weary out their patience."* Not knowing or not appreciating aright these things, and listening with an overgreedy ear to the honest, it may be, but not well-advised or well-founded clamor that is raised and kept resounding throughout our broad land against the University in these respects, it is not strange, that parents and son should have made choice of this, as a place of education, "with fear and trembling." But it is matter of congratulation, that this choice, "made after long and anxious solicitude," neither parent nor son, in the language of the Memoir, "had occasion afterward for a moment to regret." It would be easy to quote other examples of "Or-

* Memoir, page 22.

thodox" ministers and parents, who, having made the same perilous experiment, have found their sons come out of the fiery trial, not only sound and unscathed in their religious principles and character, but surviving to become faithful watchmen on the high watch-towers of their own peculiar Zion. The author of this Memoir, himself a graduate of this university, as well as his brother, bears a willing, and to himself an honorable testimony, not only to the "present preëminent advantages" of this "School of the Pilgrims," but also to the fact that these advantages are not, necessarily, to be bought by any sacrifice of their religious faith.

"Mr. Stearns felt a deep interest in Harvard college, as the concluding sentence of the extract just given indicates. He venerated, he loved, that institution with filial affection. Painfully sensible of what he conceived to be its errors in Christian doctrine, he could not fail to appreciate its thorough course of literary and scientific studies, its numerous and superior lectures, its large and invaluable library, its intellectual and classic atmosphere, and, opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, its general standard of morality, which, it is thought, would suffer much less in comparison, with the other colleges of New England, than is sometimes imagined. He looked upon it as the noble offspring of the Pilgrims, consecrated by many a prayer to the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and designed by God to afford important aid in accomplishing the destinies of the New World, and sooner or later, in rolling the wave of salvation, by a crucified Savior, over the Old." — pp. 26, 27.

Mr. Stearns himself, just before he was graduated, and after the experience of four years, writing to a *brother* who was "in great doubt as to the choice of a College," speaks of Harvard University as

"The first-born of our enlightened and pious forefathers, — the mother of almost all their worthy posterity, — the nursery of *our own fathers*, — the object of their kindest regard, — of their warmest gratitude, — of their highest veneration, — of their most fervent, importunate, and acceptable prayers. Yes, I can remember when our venerable and pious grandparent, in his *daily* devotions, poured forth the most earnest supplications in behalf of the 'university in our vicinity, founded by the early Pilgrims, and consecrated to the American church.' I will only add, God bless the sons of Harvard, and preserve our alma mater from the open attacks of enemies, — the secret treachery

of hypocritical friends, and from the baleful influence of every wrong principle to be found in her own heart." — p. 27.

And the following testimony should be taken in the same connexion:

"Though a member of the university, at a time of unusual commotion, he passed its ordeal without censure, and without injury to his morals or to his Christian character. He was known as a professor of religion, a full believer in the doctrines of the cross; — as such his sentiments were treated with delicacy, and his habits of devotion and rigid adherence to principle, with respect." — pp. 28, 29.

May we ask our "Orthodox" brethren to think of these things, and then put it to themselves honestly, whether the culture of an University, against which such high and unkind voices are lifted, *can* be so desperately bad, when it is guided by such principles, and produces such fruits?

He was graduated at the University, in August, 1823. The honors assigned him, both on taking his first and second degree, were among the highest of his class.

Mr. Stearns, at this period of his life, shared no uncommon lot, for minds constituted like his. His honorable ambition, as a student; his pecuniary necessities, together with the conviction, that the aid of the University is awarded, as the Memoir says, "very properly, to the *attainments* of the individual, as well as to his needs;" stimulated him to efforts, beyond his strength. He did not learn the lesson, which is scarcely ever well learned, but by experience, and then often too late, that the body must be cared for, if we would secure the best efficiency of the mind. He neglected exercise in the open air; he denied himself necessary relaxation, and necessary repose; his mind, was overtasked; but, in the language of his brother, — "cheered with the thought, that filial duty and the glory of God required this exertion; the altered hue of the countenance was unheeded, till within sight of the goal, exhausted nature (was) crippled, and fell." When will the beautiful lines of Byron on Kirke White, cease to be exemplified?

"Oh! what a noble heart was here undone,
When Science' self destroyed her favorite son!
* * * * * * *
So the struck eagle, stretch'd upon the plain,
No more through rolling clouds to soar again,

> Viewed his own feather on the fatal dart,
> And winged the shaft that quivered in his heart:
> *Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel*
> *He nursed the pinion which impelled the steel.*"

After passing somewhat more than two years, partly as an instructer in Phillips Academy, and partly in rural labors, for the recovery of his health; in December, 1825, Mr. Stearns joined the junior class in the Theological Seminary, at Andover. His mode of studying theology seems to us the best, certainly the best for a mind like his. "He rarely read through a continuous treatise, but studied *subjects*, not books." We have it on high authority, that of making many books, there is no end. And if we sympathize with the wisest of the sons of men in this pensive remark, in reference to his own times, how absolute must be our despair at the present day, since the press has been groaning in the extension of the evil for ages past. And it is surprising, when we reflect on the amount of talent and piety which have been devoted to theological inquiries, how little has been produced, that the world has not been "willing to let die." When we look at the space that is occupied by theological books in any tolerably complete library, we are reminded, both by their number and their nothingness, of those catacombs of Egypt, where, as we are told by travellers, millions of *dead bodies* are inhumed, and which are rendered available to the present inhabitants only as *fuel*. We do not venture to recommend the course thus forcibly suggested to the mind, but, at the same time, suppose that a worse scourge might be visited upon theological scholars than the advent of a second Omar.

We think, too, that Mr. Stearns was judicious in the *direction* he gave to his studies. Instead of attempting to master the whole science of Theology, in its various branches, which necessarily leads to superficialness in all; he chose a particular department which he made his leading aim in his preparation for the ministry. He knew that to excel in *any* thing, a man must be mainly *one* thing. "He had formed," as his biographer tells us, "and sketched for himself an ideal of the Christian minister, pastor, and man. He had spent much time in determining the mode of address which becomes the pulpit, and the more private relations of the sacred office; and was fully possessed of the sentiment, that the preacher's business is to *adapt* and *impress* truth. He considered, therefore, that

next to discriminating views of doctrine and duty, Sacred Rhetoric, using that term in its largest sense, is a study of principal importance, in preparation for the ministry. The mode of unfolding and exhibiting God's truth was, consequently, a favorite and prominent subject of his studies." This "ideal" he reduced to form and substance, in a parting address to the Porter Rhetorical Society at Andover, from which, as it seems to us to afford the best and most favorable specimen of his mind that the volume before us contains, we shall select one or two passages and present them to our readers in the sequel of these remarks.

Mr. Stearns left the Theological Seminary, with his class, in the autumn of 1828. His health continuing to be too infirm to permit him to enter the ministry, he passed several succeeding years, with his parents, at Bedford. He preached, however, occasionally, in different places, but his attention was principally directed to a preparation of a large work on the "Moral Nature of Man, to be comprised in three octavo Volumes." This was never completed.

In 1834, his health being improved, he accepted, after much doubt and mental conflict, the invitation of the "Old South" church and society in Boston, to become their minister, and was ordained April 16th of the same year. The author of the Memoir, in anticipation of any surprise that may be felt at his acceptance of such a responsible situation, makes the following sensible remarks on the comparative condition of a clergyman in Boston and a clergyman in the country.

"Besides, a clergyman in Boston, under favorable circumstances, has opportunity to secure relief from the pressure of ministerial services, whenever necessity requires. It is expected that his discourses will be well studied, and all his exercises of a high order. But it is not desired that he will deliver *uniformly* two or even *three* sermons on the Sabbath, lecture in different parts of the town during the week, spend the larger portion of his time in pastoral visiting, and struggle along with pecuniary anxieties and embarrassments, which forbid the indulgence of journeying or other recreation for health. Nor is he often under even an imaginary necessity to toil on, month after month, and year after year, till his constitution, be it of oak or a garden flower, is broken down, and he goes to his early grave, unappreciated, and with scarcely the consolation, that the work of the Lord has prospered in his hands.

"In cities, the demands for ministerial service are great, and the responsibilities are greater. But talent and Christian taste are more generally appreciated; the burden of cares and labors is better understood; sympathy imparts health, and relief, generously and delicately proposed, gives courage to endure. If necessity requires, the clergyman may revive his waning strength, by temporary absence, and not feel that 'the cause' will be injured, or that even the poor of the flock will think themselves unrequited for the sacrifices they make." — pp. 55, 56.

His ministry was very short, and its brief story is thus mournfully told by his biographer.

"Mr. Stearns preached to his people two Sabbaths and one sermon on the third sabbath, and never preached afterwards. He was, doubtless, a sick man, sustained chiefly by excitement, at the time of his ordination. The stock of health, sedulously gathered for years, was greatly diminished by the labors and influences already noticed. In addition to these, the severe trials of his father at Bedford, in which he sympathized perhaps too deeply, clouded his spirits and consumed his strength. Then came the ordination, — the soul-inspiring but exhausting services of the *first* Sabbath, — the incessant visiting, and receiving of company which naturally follows, and new responsibilities and labors heretofore untried. It was evident to some that Mr. Stearns had gone, unwittingly, in the very outset of his work, far beyond his strength. After the third Sabbath, he became fully conscious of the fact. Still he struggled on. But it was in vain! He grew sick, — his mind became confused, — he felt that he was gone!

"This was a dark and a bitter season. The star of hope, which had cheered him on for so many years, and had led him up at last to the attainment of his wishes and prayers, *went out.* It went out, and all around was night! Conscious that he could do no more, he came directly over to the writer's house, at Cambridge; and never can fraternal sympathy forget his appearance at that time; — the pale features, — the tear which floated in his large eye, — the smile of resignation which played on his face, — the tones which quivered upon his lips, — the image of exhaustion, of strong but placid emotion which he presented, as he threw himself upon the sofa, and said, '*I am done; I can do no more!* You must help me down as well as you can.'" — pp. 61, 62.

The conduct of his afflicted and disappointed people, on this trying occasion, was marked by that true Christian sympathy,

considerateness, and liberality, which has always distinguished the larger churches of the Metropolis, and which make it one of the highest earthly privileges to serve them in the bonds of the Gospel; but which, at the same time, appeals to the ingenuous heart with a force that renders these bonds stronger "than hoops of steel." Though the hope of the restoration of their minister must have been very small, they yet preferred to continue their relation to him unbroken. The death of his venerable father, at this period, who seems to have been a father worthy of such a son, and who had now ministered at the altar during nearly forty years, aggravated his disease. During the succeeding year, he sought relief in travelling through the Eastern and Middle States. The experiment was, for the time, hopeful; and he found in regular exercise, in the quiet excitement of journeying, and especially in a high and solemn and sympathizing communion with all that was beautiful and glorious in the works of God, to which his whole soul was finely attuned, a temporary restoration. But it was only temporary. At the commencement of the following year, he felt obliged to ask a dismission from his parochial charge. His only remaining wish, in respect to his people, was the opportunity of thanking them for their unwearied and unabated kindness, and to take his earthly leave of them, in a farewell discourse. But his state of health permitted not even this. He began to write from the text "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world," but found himself unequal to the effort. The unfinished manuscript is inserted in the volume before us. It is, indeed, as his brother says, "an unfinished shaft"; but not the less affecting memorial of pastoral fidelity and enduring love. His prospects of public usefulness were thus suddenly clouded, and his chosen career of duty thus apparently closed forever. The great object of his life, that for which he had toiled and suffered through varied disappointments, was put within his grasp only to be thus wrested from him. His peculiar, his long cherished occupation, was now gone. He had much reason to fear that he must linger on through what remained of life, in a state of broken health, and, what to him was the great aggravation of all, in a state of body and of mind, useless to himself and to others. But still he sunk not under this heaviest affliction of the Divine Hand. His language to his brother was, "This is another sad disappointment, — a severe stroke from the chastening rod of my heavenly Father, — it prolongs and darkens

the mystery of his providence. But it is *right*, — it is good, — I make no complaint."

In the hope of recovering his health, in June, 1836, he embarked for Europe. After passing the ensuing summer in travelling in England, Germany, and France; he accepted the kind invitation of the Rev. Edward E. Salisbury and his wife, to accompany them, in their private carriage, on a tour, through Marseilles, Geneva, and Florence, to Rome. But this journey, though devised in a spirit of the most thoughtful kindness on the part of his friends, and accompanied with every provision for the invalid's welfare, that sympathizing hearts and liberal hands could bestow, was but the prelude to a further sickness, and one which terminated in his death. At Florence, in the early part of the winter of 1836 – 7, he was seized with what is called a "severe cold," which was aggravated by the excitement and exposure of "sight-seeing." The weather was chilly, damp, and dispiriting. From this period until June in the following summer, his strength gradually, but steadily declined. He was enabled, however, to return, by way of Leghorn, Florence, Venice, Turin, and Geneva, to Paris; and there, after experiencing a few days longer the sad vicissitudes of pulmonary disease, he died on the fifteenth of July, 1837. His whole deportment and conduct in his last sickness, and in the near approach of death, were in entire keeping with the uniform tenor of his life. His "loins had been continually girded about," his "light had been kept carefully burning;" and he inherited, even here, the blessing which is promised to those "servants who wait for their Lord."

Such is a brief sketch of the life of Samuel H. Stearns. It was one continual conflict with disease; it was one long and scarcely intermitted *ache* of body; it was ended in early manhood; — and yet he accomplished, in an eminent degree, the leading object of his desires, — the great end for which, mainly, he wished to live, — that of being "useful for a little season in the world." His mission, though a short one, was well fulfilled; and his labors, prosecuted in much weariness of body and mind, were yet full of good fruits. He was enabled and permitted, in the occasional intervals of disease, to speak words of quickening and sanctifying power to many minds. He left impressions on many hearts, that will not be effaced in time, but continue to be deepened and brightened in eternity. The

very feebleness of his frame, and the spent and worn aspect of his mien, served, by way of contrast, to exhibit more strongly the unearthly energy of the spirit within; and that debility of body, which evidently impaired the full utterance of the divine aspirations of his soul, like a forced reserve in the expression of deep emotion, gave a peculiar impressiveness to his whole manner. Though dead, he will long continue to live in the cherished recollections of all who knew and loved him; and though absent from them in body, he will still be present with them in spirit, in the persuasive influence of his life and labors.

But he lived "to be useful" in a wider sense than this. The influence of such an example extends beyond the circle of personal friendship. Not only will it be perpetuated, through those who knew him, to those who knew him not; but it will be extended to all, who, like ourselves, only know him by means of the memorial which fraternal piety has reared. We place out of view here the distinctive forms in which his religious belief was written. We cannot perceive that they had much effect in producing what was truly valuable in his character. We think, on the contrary, that we could show, from his letters and from the discourses in the volume before us, that they rather served to introduce a contradiction into his moral nature, and thus tended, in some degree, to impair and obstruct his spiritual growth. We cannot *stoop* to remember, in disparagement of the impression he has left on our minds, that he belonged to a class of Christians who have little sympathy or love for ourselves. We dismiss all such thoughts, and claim a cordial alliance with him on higher grounds. His mind was free and elective. He kept it open, at least as far as the unsuspected influences of education, and of the social and religious relations in which he lived, would permit him to do, to the pure light of truth, — radiate whence it might; and was willing to follow its guidance, — lead where it would. His piety was simple, sincere, and calm. He left it to declare its own character, and to make its own impression. He affected not stereotyped phrases of piety in his conversation or writings; he abhorred all affected sanctimoniousness in his religious bearing; he despised cant in all its forms. Though his tastes were naturally retired and meditative, and he would have preferred to have passed his days in thoughtful seclusion, with the "disciple that Jesus loved," by

> " . . . . . Siloa's brook that flow'd
> Fast by the oracle of God;"

he would yet have followed cheerfully, at the call of duty, the great "Apostle to the Gentiles," and like him, without fear, have delivered his Master's message to doubting and scoffing philosophers, on Mars Hill at Athens. And when he *did* come forth to the people, he spoke as those alone can speak, who have fed the lamp of the soul, in retirement, with much introspective thought; with solemn ponderings on the mysteries of the present life; and with serene and thoughtful anticipations of the "life that is brought to light in the Gospel." He avoided, also, the not uncommon error of meditative minds, that of mistaking words for things, phrases for thoughts, and strange and fantastic combinations of language for a deep and high philosophy. Judging from the "Discourses" before us, and they were prepared to be spoken and not to be read, he did not speak or write until he thought himself into clearness on important themes; and would have felt that he had failed in his utterance of thought, if he could not make it plain and intelligible to other minds.

But it is as a man, — as an entire Christian man, in thought and in feeling, in doing and in suffering, — that the example of Mr. Stearns addresses itself most strongly to our sympathies. We refer here to his reverence for conscience, amidst disturbing influences; to his devotion to duty, under continual discouragements; to his patience through long and severe suffering; to his enduring hopefulness in the blight of his most cherished hopes; to his undiminished desire of "being useful," when all his energies were crippled by disease; to his undecaying faith in the just and kind designs of Providence in the darkest hours; and, above all, to that cheerful, confiding, childlike trust in the disposal of his Heavenly Father through all the trials of his life, and which was strong within him to the last moment of his consciousness. That we may not be thought to indulge in vague eulogium, we shall quote a few brief extracts from the last letter he ever wrote, only premising that he knew it *it was the last*, and that it was written when he had surrendered all hopes of seeing his family and friends again in this world, and felt that nothing remained for him but to die among strangers, in a strange land. The letter is addressed from Paris to his brother, under date of June 28, 1837, and is accompanied with his brother's explanatory remarks.

"'My last as well as former letters must have led you to anticipate the time as near, when we shall be separated, not by

the wide waves of the Atlantic, but by the wider ocean which separates earth from heaven. My old physician, on my last visit, on Monday, intimated that he thought my *lungs* seriously and permanently affected, and seemed to decline to prescribe any further. On my return to my lodgings, my friend who accompanied me, Mr. A——, who understands French perfectly, and had a private interview with the doctor, formally and kindly announced to me the decision. I certainly received it with entire calmness and composure, and during the evening following had none but calm and pleasant thoughts and bright anticipations. It did *not* take me by surprise; it produced no nervous agitations, no alarm, no feeling of hurry or confusion, none of resistance. I rather felt, that now the day of sorrow is past, and a little season of joyful anticipation remains. And such has been my prevailing feeling ever since. I may be wrong, but I feel that the day of self-examination, and self-humiliation, and anxious mourning for sin are past. I have had a 'heart deceitful and desperately wicked,'—'the *pride* of my heart has deceived me,' and it has been difficult for me to detect its real wickedness. But I think I have seen it,—I am sure I have seen enough to overwhelm me! My spirit has fainted and died within me,—in regret, in grief, in penitence. I have thrown myself, freely and cordially, into the arms of him who came to seek and to save that which was lost,—to save sinners, even the chief,—to save me;—and then I feel safe, I feel that he forgives me, I feel that he loves me, I feel that he will keep me to the end, and bring me safe to his Father's mansion. And I feel satisfied,—happy! I have no ravishing delights or anticipations, though my imagination is, at times, sufficiently excited. But I have a calm, unquestioning confidence,—a sweet, holy, heavenly happiness. All with me is bright and cheerful for this world and for another.

"'I am here surrounded with kind friends, who will take good care of me while I continue, and who will take good care of what little I have with me, and send all safe home.'

* * * * *

"After some further suggestions and directions respecting his remains, and the few temporal matters he had yet to arrange, he proceeds:

"'It is doubtful if I shall write again with my own hand; and now I was about to write farewells; but really it is unnecessary, and I am too much exhausted. I restrain my heart, and forbear to give pain, but I have not one sombre feeling, one dark or gloomy emotion.'

"He then goes on with some suggestions which he thought

might contribute to his mother's happiness, — especially in reference to the management of the litttle homestead, which is her living. His thoughts, on this subject, are expressed with a particularity which at once discovers the composure of his mind, and the generous interest which he felt in those who survive him.

* * * * *

"'Oh! I can write no more! And yet I must, — I must just say farewell, through you, to all.

"'Farewell, my dear, good mother! We shall soon meet with your dear husband and my beloved and revered father. The path to heaven from Paris and from Bedford is equally sure, — he will be looking out for us, — kind angels will convey us thither. I thank you for a mother's care and a mother's love; I could never thank you enough. But we shall know more of this, and talk more of this, and feel more of this, I think in heaven. Till then, my good mother, farewell!

"'Sisters and brothers whom I love, *all*, *all*, with a brother's heart, farewell! I rejoice that we *all*, happy family, have hope to meet in heaven. Oh! should *one* be missing there! I will not indulge the thought; no! we shall all meet! Till that happy thanksgiving meeting, beloved sisters and brothers, farewell!'" — pp. 165 - 168

After particular adieus to all his other near relations, not forgetting a "little niece" whom he calls "my especial care," he proceeds:

"'I love the Old South, and have never ceased to remember them in my prayers, once and again, since the morning I became their pastor. A pastor's feelings *are* peculiar. I wish I could address them, and say to them, farewell! I rejoice that they are in the care of so good a pastor. The Lord bless them and him. I would also say a grateful farewell to my special benefactors, Mr. S——, and Mr. F——, and Mrs. G——. My beloved, affectionate, generous friend, ———, I bid you a full-hearted farewell!

"'And now, my dear brother, I feel as I had done a violence to myself this morning. I certainly did not think of writing half so much. I should not have thought it possible, — but the Lord has wonderfully sustained me, and I could no less. It is done, — and I throw off all care, all burden from my mind.

"'I have only now to say to you, my eldest, long-tried, affectionate brother, farewell! The Lord bless you, in your person, in your family, in your people, in your profession, — it is a glorious one! — in your own soul, and we shall talk more

of these things another day. You have from me a very warm, affectionate, full-souled farewell! W——, farewell!'"—p. 169.

All comment on a letter like this is out of place. It could only serve to weaken its impression. But we cannot forbear to say, that we hardly know of anything in the whole compass of epistolary writing to be compared with it, in a solemn tone of reality, in subduing pathos, in thoughtful tenderness for others, in a deep and sufficing repose of spirit, and above all, in a serene and self-abandoning confidence in God. The parting exhortation, which, by reason of bodily weakness, he was not permitted to speak to his people, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world," is thus enforced, with a power above and beyond all utterance, in his triumphant death.

It remains to advert, and it must be done very briefly, to the "Discourses" in the volume before us. It ought to be premised here that none of these were prepared for the press, either by the Author or his Editor, and are to be estimated with all that allowance which belongs to writings not merely posthumous, but to those which were intended for a popular, and therefore a mixed, audience.

They do not seem to us to be remarkable for originality or energy of thought, or peculiar power of expression. They are, in general, well conceived, and very carefully elaborated. They possess the great merit of unity or oneness of plan; and when delivered with that calmness, tranquil dignity, and subdued earnestness of manner, which he inculcated upon others, and by which his own mode of delivery is said to have been characterized, they must have left a strong impression on the minds of those who sympathized with him in his religious opinions. In one important particular they are favorably distinguished from the productions of that class of Christians to which their author professedly belonged. They are, so far as style is concerned, more finished, more tasteful, more purely English, more redolent of a mind trained in a literary atmosphere, more free from certain canonized phrases and transmitted common-places, than almost any writings with which we are acquainted, from the same school of Theology. We attribute this to the nurture, society, and influences of the author's College life. And if we could suppose that any well-meant and respectful suggestion of ours would fall persuasively on the minds of any belonging to the same class of Religionists, and especially of

any who are preparing for the ministry, we would ask them to think of this fact in the education of Mr. Stearns. It would certainly be a great point gained, and we think the community, at large, will sustain us in the remark, if, like him, they could dare to venture into the circle of the higher culture, intellectual advancement, and liberalizing influences of Harvard University. Their tastes, they may rely upon it, would be refined; their religious horizon enlarged; their knowledge of books and men and life be greatly extended; their power of utterance and of operating upon other minds increased; and their efficiency as writers and speakers, in all respects, improved.

The "Discourses" appended to the "Life" are fourteen in number, including the fragment of his projected farewell sermon to his people of the Old South Church and Society. But we have not left ourselves any room to make extracts from them, and can only quote a few paragraphs from what, as we have already said, we consider the most favorable, and certainly the most finished specimen of his mind in the volume; we mean his "Address delivered before the Porter Rhetorical Society in Andover, Sept. 1828." His subject was the "Genius of Pulpit Eloquence."

"Another characteristic of sacred eloquence, and perhaps the most important of all to success in the business of the pulpit, is *earnestness.* Religion is not a system of abstract precepts and propositions, on which one may discourse with as much indifference as he would demonstrate a mathematical problem, or discuss a question in political economy. It properly affords no subjects on which the essayist or the scholar may play his part, and furnish amusement for a vacant hour. It comes to us as an angel from the upper world, bearing tidings of thrilling interest, telling us of our own immortal destiny, and opening a pathway to the skies. We receive it, if we receive it at all, into our tenderest sympathies, and give it a welcome entrance.

"The preacher is supposed to have *felt* its influence, and to speak from the experience of his own heart. Men look for expressions of feeling, in harmony with the truths he proclaims. He is surrounded by beings, formed like himself with capacities for eternal joy, and exposed to the danger of eternal wo. Heaven opens to their faith, and Jesus, with the benignity of God and the sympathy of man, is seen bending to invite them thither. The world allures but to deceive, — the spoiler ceases not from his insidious work, — and the abyss beneath, heaving its terrific

clouds of darkness, reveals the second death. Can he speak, and his soul not be moved? Can words alone be eloquent on such themes as these? It is the melting eye, the glowing cheek, the fervent look, the earnest voice, the whole man vibrating in every nerve, and moving right on with unconscious power, that must give to such truths the form of eloquence. It is not the clamor of declamation, — it is not the language of extravagance or bold metaphor, — it is not theatrical display, — it is not passion, — it is not poetry, — but it is simple *earnestness.*" — pp. 204, 205.

The concluding paragraph is as follows: —

"I have spoken, it is true, of that eloquence which it is our duty to study and attempt, rather than our hope to attain. There are many circumstances in the life of a Christian minister, peculiarly unfavorable to the highest style of dignified and simple eloquence. We shall, no doubt, suffer many embarrassments, which will repress our energies, and hinder us from success. But, though we cannot hope to realize even our present conceptions, we must not yield in sullen despair, — we will not shrink in tame neglect of our duty. The thought of a world in sin may sometimes stir up all our sympathies, and urge us to those wild and unnatural efforts, which defeat their object; but we will still remember that Jesus was never rash. His eloquence was always calm, — and he who spoke as one having authority, knew best how to affect the human heart. We shall often be oppressed with thronging cares, and prevented from enriching our minds and improving our taste in the study of the standard works of genius; but let us not neglect the opportunities that are given to enter those splendid temples, and, bearing away their offered riches, consecrate them to Christ and the church. There must come those dreary hours, when our enfeebled bodies will sink under the burdens of an office whose duties never cease, and our minds, driven to extreme lassitude, will fail us, — all that we know be gone from our recollections, — and the few thoughts, that float in dim vision before our eyes, refuse to take form or name; but we will at least open our minds to the impressions of surrounding objects, and learn something even from the consciousness of our own imbecility. The heart, too, will sometimes faint, or become coldly indifferent, in the reaction of habitual excitement, — our sensibilities grow dull, — the sublime truths of religion cease to exhilarate us, — and the affecting scenes of sinful, suffering humanity only shroud us in tearless gloom; but let us then drink more deeply at the fountain of devotion, and, with struggling efforts, gather that warm and vital

earnestness, which can make us eloquent. However we may be situated, wheresoever God in his providence may place us, — on the plains of Hindoo, on the hills of Palestine, in the wilds of western America, in the islands of the distant ocean, or among the churches that our fathers have left us, — we will not fail to exert our strength in the use and improvement of the talents which our Creator has given us for his service; and when, at last, any of us may be allowed to stand before his tribunal, and present a few souls, saved through his blessing on our efforts, — our toils shall all be forgotten, — our labors will be too richly compensated, — and our hearts, more eloquent than our tongues, shall say for us, 'Not unto us, but to thy name, be all the *glory*.'" — pp. 205 – 207.

This is true, and is eloquently expressed. We doubt not that the hearts of many of his brethren in the Christian ministry, will respond to these touching allusions to the discouragements and sinking of the spirit within, which the "world knows not of." They cannot, indeed, be avoided by those who feel the dignity and responsibleness of their high calling, viewed in connexion with the unworthiness of their best efforts. Happy will it be for all such, if, like the author of this address, it shall lead them "to drink more deeply at the fountain of devotion." The hope, too, suggested in the conclusion of this passage is full of quickening energy. We repeat it in another form.

"It is a beautiful and soothing thought,
That when mankind shall meet beyond the tomb,
There may be found some spirits we have taught
To fix their hopes upon that world to come;
That e'en their final, their decisive doom
May be effected by the care they knew.
Oh! it were worth long years of toil and gloom
To see that vision rise from life's review,
Trusting to sleep in Christ, and wake to find it true."

J. B.

ART. IV. — *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* By J. G. LOCKHART. Seven volumes. 12mo. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1837.

THE delight, which has been afforded to thousands by the writings of Sir Walter Scott, would naturally insure the most lively interest upon the annunciation of Memoirs of his Life. That fountain which had been flowing so long, and sending up its beautiful jets for the refreshment of the world, was now sealed by death. The rod of the magician would no more be stretched forth. But there was yet one thing to look forward to with eager expectation, the history of his own life. Men were curious to trace the progress of a mind which had borne such unresisted and universal sway.

There is much, very much, in the life of every individual, of which no report, no picture ever goes forth to the world. Numerous thoughts in every mind find never a word to express and perpetuate them. Images of sparkling beauty lie concealed in the unworked mines of the fancy, that are never drawn forth, and set for the admiration of others. And high resolves, noble impulses, generous sentiments there are in the heart, to which neither visible act, nor fit phrase gives shape and distinctness. They are children of the spirit. They are born, and live, and do their noiseless, viewless errand without becoming incarnate, without assuming a body, and being palpable to sense. In this way are nipped in the bud, fortunately for the world, many bad intentions, and pernicious projects. Thus also perish, unknown, unprized, many of the best products of humanity.

The real, inward life, the heart's life of a man, is sought for, not always, however, with success, in his writings. If he be a true man, if he have written because he had somewhat to say, because the fountain in his soul was full, and would have vent; if his words be the instruments with which he has brought out and expressed his own thoughts and feelings, and not the mere tools by which he sought to effect his purposes upon other minds and hearts; if he be not a mere artist, a word-polisher and a word-joiner, caring only for the nice skill and taste with which a rhetorical mosaic-work may be executed; — then his writings do afford materials for forming a satisfactory judgment of his inner life. Art, when highly cultivated, at the same time it gratifies the taste, tends also to vitiate the taste. The

simplest and earliest Music of a nation, for example, consists of those melodious strains, which are chosen to give lively and sweet expression to sentiments of love, or patriotism, or valor. It is the language of the heart. But in the progress of cultivation, music is divorced from sentiment, and becomes a series of complicated sounds, that speak to the ear, affording it an artificial pleasure, merely sensual in kind. So also in Statuary and Painting. In early times these Arts are made subservient to moral purposes. They symbolize the virtues. They fix the memory of great acts. They animate the heart of a nation or tribe with generous sentiments. But in the progress of civilization, art grows to be enthusiastically esteemed for itself. Painting and Statuary are no longer thought of in connexion with moral ideas and impressions. The talk is now about lines and features and touches, the combination of colors, the arrangement of drapery, attitude, effect. The whole object now is to please the eye, and to excite admiration at the skill of the artist. Hence originates the cant of professional criticism. And Literature shares in this degrading refinement. Words are no longer expressions of thought and imagery and sentiment, but gems that are to be polished and adjusted, so as to stimulate a jaded taste, that has not vitality enough to go beyond manner to the matter beneath. A man's writings do not, therefore, always and of course, give a true picture of himself.

But in the case of Scott, we have confidence that in his works we see a faithful transcript of his thoughts and feelings, his inward experience. Scott was not an artist, not characteristically so. He wrote with great rapidity. He used no forcing process. The fountain was always full and running over. His mind was not fitful, acting only at intervals, and needing powerful stimulus. He seems always to have been in the right mood. Great equality was accordingly a peculiarity of his genius. The first draught supplied the press. No time was spent in revising. He observed one part of the poet's direction to "write with fury;" but not the other part, to "correct with phlegm." The remarks that have been made are certainly true in reference to his prose works. Whether, in his poetry, he had other habits of composition, does not as distinctly appear in the Memoirs before us. Undoubtedly more care and study were requisite here. But his poetry, to judge from internal indications, appears to have been thrown off in happy hours,

and was probably never the result of elaborate and painful art.

The works of Scott being voluminous, and, as we believe, genuine emanations of his spirit, when we add to them the seven volumes of Biography, just published, we possess as ample means for illustrating the life and character of the great Minstrel and Novelist, as the world ever enjoys in the case of any individual.

The sources from which Lockhart has drawn his materials consist of an autobiographical fragment, giving an account of the early portion of Scott's life; his journals, parts of which are of unequalled interest; a selection of letters to and from his large list of correspondents; the journals or memoranda of those who were intimate with him, or who occasionally visited him; selections from the public prints of the day; with the addition of such facts as would be in the possession of one, who stood in so near a relation as a son-in-law, and who appears to have enjoyed much of his confidence.

It has been objected to the Biography that it is *compiled* rather than *composed;* that Lockhart had no very high notion of what a Biography should be; that he proposed to himself no artist-like limning of the features of the great original. We do not profess to be very transcendental in our ideas of what a Biography should be. We think in general, however, that a man, if he have anything in him, ought to be left to speak for himself very much. Let his Biographer look to it, first and foremost, that this be so. Let him leave his hero to exhibit his own qualities. We had rather hear the lion roar himself, than have an imitation, by way of substitute, on the part of his keeper. It may be all very well, considered as an imitation. There may not be another person in the world, who could so well copy the voice of the original, and personate his character. But it is not what we want. It is not the article our imaginations bargain for. We think, therefore, that Lockhart has judged very wisely in this matter. He gives us Scott, the real Scott;—not an image of Scott reflected from his Biographer. It is the true voice we hear,—not the son of a voice, an echo.

But the narrative is too long, is another objection. The work is unnecessarily extended, where it ought to have been compressed. It is long, it seems to us, simply because there happens to be a good deal to say or to repeat that is worth

saying or repeating, and because the world does not easily tire of such interesting matter. Not many, we are persuaded, will read these volumes, but will regret when they reach the end. The reader has, here brought together and placed within his reach, the narratives and the impressions of a variety of individuals. And why should it not be so? Scott was not a recluse. He was constantly in the midst of the world. He mingled with all classes in society, and he was the companion of all from the prince to the peasant. During his prosperity, his house was open to all comers of respectable introduction. And his conversation, with all its shrewdness, humor, and picturesqueness, was dispensed for the enjoyment of all. And why should we not have a report of his table-talk, his study-talk, his pathway-talk, just as it dropped sincerely from his lips, and was caught up by different listeners? What would we not give for a similar variety respecting the life of one of the great men of antiquity? Which would you choose, reader, one of the compressed, artist-like sketches, drawn by a Sallust, of some great general or philosopher, or a familiar commentary, kept by himself or companions, upon the daily current of his life?

Sir Walter Scott traced his descent, of which he was proud, from one of the Border Chieftains of Scotland. His father, Walter Scott, was educated to the profession of a "writer to the Signet," — a man of sweet temper, rather formal but kind manners, abstemious habits, a strict Calvinist, "whose favorite study related to Church History." The great Novelist was born in Edinburgh, August 15, 1771. A lameness, occasioned by sickness in infancy, and from which he never recovered, caused him to be sent, by the advice of physicians, into the country, and it was there "at Sandy-Knowe," in the residence of his paternal grandfather, "that he had the first consciousness of existence." It was there that the aged people repeated in his ear tales and songs, that celebrated the bold deeds of the Border Chiefs, or the attempts that had been made in behalf of the unfortunate family of the Stuarts; and thus the foundation was laid of those feelings, prejudices, if we choose to call them so, out of which most of his poetical and prose works grew. The taste for legends and ballads, which had been thus excited in his childhood, was still farther stimulated in his youth, by the perusal of Percy's Reliques of Ancient Poetry, a book after his own heart. "It may be imagined," he says,

" but cannot be described, with what delight I saw pieces of the same kind which had amused my childhood, and still continued in secret the Delilahs of my imagination, considered as the subject of sober research, grave commentary, and apt illustration, by an editor who showed his poetical genius was capable of emulating the best qualities of what his pious labor preserved." His love of natural beauty was awakened among those scenes which he did so much afterwards to make classic ground. He farther indicates his youthful propensities when he says, " Everything which touched on knight-errantry was particularly acceptable to me, and I soon attempted to imitate what I so greatly admired." His lameness did not, by any means, disable him in youth, and he was very fond of excursions on foot or horseback, for the sake of seeing beautiful scenery, or visiting places associated with historical occurrences.

Scott's first acquaintance with James Ballantyne, interesting extracts from whose *memoranda* are sprinkled over the pages of the Biography, took place in the year 1783, when they were both boys at the public school of Kelso. The Printer of the Canongate thus recalls their school-boy intimacy: " I remember it was a thing of daily occurrence, that, after he had made himself master of his own lesson, I, alas! being still sadly to seek in mine, he used to whisper to me, 'Come, slink over beside me, Jamie, and I'll tell you a story.'" Thus, " the child was father of the man." He who lured Jamie from his lessons has drawn thousands since from heavier cares and burdens, to listen to his pleasant tales.

While an apprentice to his father he occasionally met with one of his father's Highland clients, " Alexander Stewart of Invernahyle, an enthusiastic Jacobite, who had survived to recount, in secure and vigorous old age, his active experiences in the insurrections both of 1715 and 1745." He received an invitation to visit the veteran's residence in the mountains. From this fine relic of the old times he heard many a tale, and amidst the wild scenery and picturesque manners which he now, for the first time, witnessed, he caught that inspiration, and stored up those materials, by means of which his imagination provided such a feast afterwards for the reading world.

Scott's habits in this early portion of his life appear, from his own candid confessions, and from other accounts, to have been free and convivial. Some of the details make us, who have fallen upon these water-gruel days, stare. The most

interesting, and in some respects the most suspicious of these juvenile excursions, were the *raids* he made annually, for a succession of years, into Liddesdale, "then a wild and inaccessible district."

We can easily conceive with what delight one with his tastes would break away from the dry technicalities of the law, and give full swing to his humors in these excursions, in company with a person of congenial dispositions. He was, in this way, brought into contact with unsophisticated beings; studied human nature, not as that nature is worn to a tame uniformity of surface, by the polish of an artificial state of society, but with all its broad features, unrestrained movements, free utterances; and cultivated that relish for simple pleasures, and that hearty sympathy with his fellow-men, as men, which gave to his descriptions of lowly life truth, vivacity, and grace.

Scott had already been admitted to the Bar, but seems to have done little in the way of his profession. Literature had greater charms for him. Among his companions a class was formed for the study of the German Language and Literature, which at that time were beginning to attract attention, and his first appearance before the public, as a writer, was as translator of certain ballads from that language. In 1799 his translation of Goethe's tragedy, "Goetz von Berlichingen of the Iron Hand," was published. In illustration of the decided influence which the study of German literature had upon his taste, Lockhart says: "If it be doubtful whether, but for Percy's Reliques, he would ever have thought of editing their ballads," (that is, the ballads of his own and the other border clans of Scotland,) "I think it not less so, whether, but for the iron-handed Goetz, it would ever have flashed upon his mind, that, in the wild traditions which these recorded, he had been unconsciously assembling materials for more works of high art than the longest life could serve him to elaborate."

But what the poet himself calls his "first serious attempts in verse," were, among other pieces, his Glenfinlas, and Eve of St. John. The two first volumes of a collection of the ballads of the Border Country, which had, from early youth, been his delight, and which formed the spoils which he carried off from his frolicsome *raids*, when, according to his companion Shortreed's expressive phrase, "he was makin' himsel'," were published in 1802, under the title of Border Minstrelsy. Then followed the Lay of the Last Minstrel, which more than estab-

lished his reputation as a poet, and this was quickly succeeded by his other poems, until, upon the appearance of Byron on the stage, he resigned poetry into the hands of that more powerful genius, and devoted himself, for the remainder of his career, to a species of literature of which he was the father, the Historical Prose Romance. He had removed to Ashestiel, "situated on the southern bank of the Tweed, a few miles from Selkirk," in 1804. It seems, from the Biography, that as early as 1805 he formed that connexion in the printing business with James Ballantyne, which finally involved him in the crash of 1826, and which rendered him liable for the extravagant or unfortunate speculations of other houses, particularly Constable's. In a letter addressed to Lockhart, and dated in 1826, Scott thus alludes back to this connexion. "It is easy, no doubt, for any friend to blame me for entering into connexion with commercial matters at all. But I wish to know what I could have done better; excluded from the bar, and then from all profits for six years, by my colleague's prolonged life. Literature was not in those days what poor Constable has made it; and, with my little capital, I was glad to make commercially the means of supporting my family."

From Ashestiel Scott removed, in 1812, to Abbotsford, a few miles distant on the Tweed.

From the date of the publication of Waverley, in 1814, down to 1826, his life was an unrivalled scene of splendor and prosperity. Novels were written as if by magic. Thousands upon thousands of copies were struck off and immediately sold. The most exorbitant sums were paid in advance for copyrights. In the mean time, acre is added to acre, and tower to tower, till a magnificent pile is erected and finished, commanding a view of mountain, river, plantation, along his favorite Tweed, and all his own. A princely hospitality is maintained. His doors are flung wide for the reception of all. Pilgrims from every clime throng his halls. Noble and peasant, gentle and simple, share his courtesy. How any human being could have had spirits sufficient to carry him through the service, as host to such a crowd of guests, without flagging, and without disappointing any, however various their tastes might be, is inexplicable. But that, with all this, there should have been such an outpouring of literary wealth, that the springs of fancy and invention should have been uninjured, and that time enough could have been redeemed from the plantation, the

chase, the table, the saloon, the humble merry-makings of his neighbors, and the desperate tenacity of lion-hunters, for merely writing down on manuscript the thoughts and creations of his mind, — is what every one knows took place, is what every reader will find narrated at large, most pleasantly, in the pages before us, but what few, we venture to say, will be able to understand and conceive of. But there is a point beyond which human patience cannot hold out, and there was a limit to the patience and good nature of even Scott.

"There (at Chiefswood) my wife and I spent this summer and autumn of 1821 — the first of several seasons, which will ever dwell on my memory as the happiest of my life. We were near enough Abbotsford to partake as often as we liked of its brilliant and constantly varying society; yet could do so without being exposed to the worry and exhaustion of spirit, which the daily reception of new comers entailed upon all the family, except Sir Walter himself. But, in truth, even he was not always proof against the annoyances connected with such a style of open-housekeeping. Even his temper sunk sometimes under the solemn applauses of learned dulness, the vapid raptures of painted and periwigged dowagers, the horseleech avidity with which underbred foreigners urged their questions, and the pompous simpers of condescending magnates. When sore beset at home in this way, he would every now and then discover that he had some very particular business to attend to on an outlying part of his estate, and craving the indulgence of his guests overnight, appear at the cabin in the glen before its inhabitants were astir in the morning. The clatter of Sibyl Grey's hoofs, the yelping of Mustard and Spice, and his own joyous shout of *reveillée* under our windows, were the signal that he had burst his toils and meant for that day to 'take his ease in his inn.' On descending, he was to be found seated with all his dogs and ours about him, under a spreading ash that overshadowed half the bank between the cottage and the brook, pointing the edge of his woodman's axe for himself, and listening to Tom Purdie's lecture touching the plantation that most needed thinning. After breakfast, he would take possession of a dressing-room up stairs, and write a chapter of *The Pirate;* and then, having made up and despatched his packet for Mr. Ballantyne, away to join Purdie wherever the foresters were at work — and sometimes to labor among them as strenuously as John Swanston himself — until it was time either to rejoin his own party at Abbotsford, or the quiet circle of the cottage. When his guests were few and friendly, he often made them

come over and meet him at Chiefswood in a body towards evening; and surely he never appeared to more amiable advantage than when helping his young people with their little arrangements upon such occasions. He was ready with all sorts of devices to supply the wants of a narrow establishment; he used to delight particularly in sinking the wine in a well under the *brae* ere he went out, and hauling up the basket just before dinner was announced — this primitive process being, he said, what he had always practised when a young housekeeper, and in his opinion far superior in its results to any application of ice; and in the same spirit, whenever the weather was sufficiently genial, he voted for dining out of doors altogether, which at once got rid of the inconvenience of very small rooms, and made it natural and easy for the gentlemen to help the ladies, so that the paucity of servants went for nothing. Mr. Rose used to amuse himself with likening the scene and the party to the closing act of one of those little French dramas, where 'Monsieur le Comte,' and 'Madame la Comtesse' appear feasting at a village bridal under the trees; but, in truth, our 'M. le Comte' was only trying to live over again for a few simple hours his own old life of Lasswade.

"When circumstances permitted, he usually spent one evening at least in the week in our little cottage; and almost as frequently he did the like with the Fergusons, to whose table he could bring chance visitors, when he pleased, with equal freedom as to his daughter's. Indeed it seemed to be much a matter of chance, any fine day when there had been no alarming invasion of the Southron, whether the three families (which, in fact, made but one) should dine at Abbotsford, at Huntly Burn, or at Chiefswood; and at none of them was the party considered quite complete, unless it included also Mr. Laidlaw. Death has laid a heavy hand upon that circle — as happy a circle I believe as ever met. Bright eyes now closed in dust, gay voices forever silenced, seem to haunt me as I write. With three exceptions, they are all gone. Even since the last of these volumes was finished, she whom I may now sadly record as, next to Sir Walter himself, the chief ornament and delight of all those simple meetings — she to whose love I owed my own place in them — Scott's eldest daughter, the one of all his children who in countenance, mind, and manners, most resembled himself, and who indeed was as like him in all things as a gentle, innocent woman can ever be to a great man deeply tried and skilled in the struggles and perplexities of active life — she, too, is no more. And in the very hour that saw her laid in her grave, the only other female survivor, her dearest friend Margaret Fergu-

son breathed her last also. — But enough — and more than I intended. — I must resume the story of Abbotsford." — Vol. V. pp. 97 – 100.

Lockhart gives us a somewhat extended account of George the Fourth's visit to Scotland. It may be objected by some that it is beneath the dignity of biography to repeat newspaper descriptions of such scenes. We think not in the present case. The Memoirs before us would greatly miss the pages that describe that visit. They illustrate Scott's character in a striking manner. They exhibit him in a new position, proving his great knowledge of mankind, and his admirable tact in harmonizing most opposite prejudices. The king's reception in Edinburgh was a poem in real life. It was as picturesque as any one of his romances. It revived, on a vast stage, the customs of a past age. There was genius in it. It was all Scott's work, and so acknowledged at the time. He evinced, in the arrangement of those public festivities, not only the force of his imagination, and his attachment to everything in the past history of Scotland, but yet more, his talent for business, his skill in controlling men, and in managing affairs.

But the heavens, which had so long shined brightly, were now to be hung with dark clouds. The commercial embarrassments of 1826 came on, and Sir Walter, who till then had gone on rejoicing, became a bankrupt. The story of this melancholy reverse of fortune is related by Lockhart at considerable length, many facts are added to what the world knew before in relation to this matter, especially that the Novelist had been, for many years, a silent partner with James Ballantyne in the printing business. However we may feel, upon the annunciation of such a fact, and we confess the effect upon our minds was anything but agreeable, and still the unpleasant association will linger with us, notwithstanding the best apology is presented which the case admits, — we lose all minor regrets of this sort, in the larger sentiment of admiration and respect which is experienced, when we consider the manly energy, the equanimity, the fortitude, with which, at his time of life, in the midst of family troubles and anxieties, he set himself to work to pay his debts, and redeem his estates. If there ever was exhibited to the world an instance in which the moral advantage of misfortune was illustrated, it was in the case of Sir Walter Scott. Without this severe trial, he would have been admired as a

great genius, and generation after generation would have hung upon his tales, and thanked him for the amount of enjoyment he had created for them. But now the world has to thank him for a great example of virtue, an example the more valuable, inasmuch as his light shone far, and his name was repeated and had influence, all over the world. Fortunate as he was, through life, in escaping the tooth of envy, and in securing the love of his contemporaries, in the various walks of life, (for he had the rare faculty to make all about him rejoice in his prosperity, and appropriate a portion of it to themselves, in the shape of honor or amusement,) there had, probably, never, in his brightest days, been such a profound and tender attachment to his person, amazement at his powers, or reverence for his qualities of heart and character, as when the sudden change came over his affairs. Unequivocal testimonies of such sentiments continued to be given by individuals, until his overwrought powers gave way, and he was advised to seek for strength in milder regions. Then a tribute of national homage was yielded to him, in offering, for his conveyance to Italy, a national vessel. He is sent out as a prince, — meet tribute to eminent genius and worth!

From about the period when his embarrassments commenced, until his death, Sir Walter kept a private diary, which is now, for the first time, exposed to the world. We consider it the most intensely interesting part of the memoirs. It lets us immediately into his feelings. We are placed, indeed, too near, for our own comfort, to his mental sufferings. We look, as it were, through the open wounds, and see the live heart palpitating in agony. But, much as there is to try painfully our sympathies, there is more, in the Diary, to cheer and encourage the reader. We see principle bracing itself manfully, and hopefully, and struggling against the serpent folds of misfortune. The most munificent, the most touching, and, in some instances, even the most impertinent offers of assistance, were pressed upon him, some by known, and some by unknown admirers and friends. But he declined, gratefully and firmly, all such assistance, choosing to owe his liberation to none other but himself. It was in the midst of the agony of mind, evinced in the following passage from the Diary, that Woodstock was composed.

"May 15. — Received the melancholy intelligence that all is over at Abbotsford.

"*Abbotsford*, May 16.—She died at nine in the morning, after being very ill for two days — easy at last. I arrived here late last night. Anne is worn out, and has had hysterics, which returned on my arrival. Her broken accents were like those of a child, the language as well as the tones broken, but in the most gentle voice of submission. 'Poor mamma — never return again — gone forever — a better place.' Then, when she came to herself, she spoke with sense, freedom, and strength of mind, till her weakness returned. It would have been inexpressibly moving to me as a stranger — what was it then to the father and the husband? For myself, I scarce know how I feel, sometimes as firm as the Bass Rock, sometimes as weak as the water that breaks on it. I am as alert at thinking and deciding as I ever was in my life. Yet, when I contrast what this place now is, with what it has been not long since, I think my heart will break. Lonely, aged, deprived of my family — all but poor Anne; an impoverished, an embarrassed man, deprived of the sharer of my thoughts and counsels, who could always talk down my sense of the calamitous apprehensions which break the heart that must bear them alone. — Even her foibles were of service to me, by giving me things to think of beyond by weary self-reflections.

"I have seen her. The figure I beheld is, and is not my Charlotte — my thirty years' companion. There is the same symmetry of form, though those limbs are rigid which were once so gracefully elastic — but that yellow masque, with pinched features, which seems to mock life rather than emulate it, can it be the face that was once so full of lively expression? I will not look on it again. Anne thinks her little changed, because the latest idea she had formed of her mother is as she appeared under circumstances of extreme pain. Mine go back to a period of comparative ease. If I write long in this way, I shall write down my resolution, which I should rather write up, if I could. I wonder how I shall do with the large portion of thoughts which were hers for thirty years. I suspect they will be hers yet for a long time at least. But I will not blaze cambric and crape in the public eye, like a disconsolate widower, that most affected of all characters.

"May 17. — Last night Anne, after conversing with apparent ease, dropped suddenly down as she rose from the supper-table, and lay six or seven minutes, as if dead. Clarkson, however, has no fear of these affections.

"May 18. — Another day, and a bright one to the external world, again opens on us; the air soft, and the flowers smiling,

and the leaves glittering. They cannot refresh her to whom mild weather was a natural enjoyment. Cerements of lead and of wood already hold her; cold earth must have her soon. But it is not my Charlotte, it is not the bride of my youth, the mother of my children, that will be laid among the ruins of Dryburgh, which we have so often visited in gayety and pastime. No, no. She is sentient and conscious of my emotions somewhere — somehow; *where* we cannot tell; *how* we cannot tell; yet would I not at this moment renounce the mysterious yet certain hope that I shall see her in a better world, for all that this world can give me. The necessity of this separation, that necessity which rendered it even a relief, that and patience must be my comfort. I do not experience those paroxysms of grief which others do on the same occasion. I can exert myself, and speak even cheerfully with the poor girls. But alone, or if anything touches me, the choking sensation. I have been to her room; there was no voice in it — no stirring; the pressure of the coffin was visible on the bed, but it had been removed elsewhere; all was neat, as she loved it, but all was calm — calm as death. I remembered the last sight of her; she raised herself in bed, and tried to turn her eyes after me, and said, with a sort of smile, 'You all have such melancholy faces.' These were the last words I ever heard her utter, and I hurried away, for she did not seem quite conscious of what she said — when I returned, immediately departing, she was in a deep sleep. It is deeper now. This was but seven days since.

"They are arranging the chamber of death; that which was long the apartment of connubial happiness, and of whose arrangements (better than in richer houses) she was so proud. They are treading fast and thick. For weeks you could have heard a foot-fall. Oh my God!" — Vol. VI. pp. 215-217.

Here is grief; every word a drop wrung from the heart!

Although Sir Walter's first paralytic attack was in the early part of the year 1830, he continued working, with his usual vigor and application, through that year. But, "the plough was nearing the end of the furrow." Repeated attacks of paralysis warn him that his life is uncertain, and he goes, with a shattered frame, and a clouded mind, to a land, whose boundless stores of art he was unable to enjoy, and whose mild airs could breathe no new life into his wasted powers;

> "the might
> Of the whole world's good wishes with him goes."

But in vain. Company excited him; the least indulgence

of appetite aggravated his disease, and his whole heart is set upon reaching home: "to Abbottsford; let me die at home." His attendants accordingly set forth, and convey him, in an insensible state, for a great part of the way, till they reach London. There they remained with him a few weeks, until he revived a little. And upon his urgently repeated request that he might be carried to Abbotsford, he was removed. Few things in literature are more touching than the account given us of that sad journey.

"At a very early hour on the morning of Wednesday the 11th, we again placed him in his carriage, and he lay in the same torpid state during the first two stages on the road to Tweedside. But as we descended the vale of the Gala he began to gaze about him, and by degrees it was obvious that he was recognising the features of that familiar landscape. Presently he murmured a name or two — 'Gala Water, surely — Buckholm — Torwoodlee.' As we rounded the hill at Ladhope, and the outline of the Eildons burst on him, he became greatly excited, and when turning himself on the couch his eye caught at length his own towers, at the distance of a mile, he sprang up with a cry of delight. The river being in flood we had to go round a few miles by Melrose bridge, and during the time this occupied, his woods and house being within prospect, it required occasionally both Dr. Watson's strength and mine, in addition to Nicolson's, to keep him in the carriage. After passing the bridge, the road for a couple of miles loses sight of Abbotsford, and he relapsed into his stupor; but on gaining the bank immediately above it, his excitement became again ungovernable.

"Mr. Laidlaw was waiting at the porch, and assisted us in lifting him into the dining-room, where his bed had been prepared. He sat bewildered for a few moments, and then resting his eye on Laidlaw, said, 'Ha! Willie Laidlaw! O man, how often have I thought of you!' By this time his dogs had assembled about his chair — they began to fawn upon him and lick his hands, and he alternately sobbed and smiled over them, until sleep oppressed him." — Vol. VII. pp. 286, 287.

"As I was dressing on the morning of Monday the 17th of September, Nicolson came into my room, and told me that his master had awoke in a state of composure and consciousness, and wished to see me immediately. I found him entirely himself, though in the last extreme of feebleness. His eye was clear and calm — every trace of the wild fire of delirium extinguished. 'Lockhart,' he said, 'I may have but a minute to

speak to you. My dear, be a good man — be virtuous — be religious — be a good man. Nothing else will give you any comfort when you come to lie here.' — He paused, and I said, 'Shall I send for Sophia and Anne?' — 'No,' said he, 'don't disturb them. Poor souls! I know they were up all night — God bless you all.' — With this he sunk into a very tranquil sleep, and, indeed, he scarcely afterwards gave any sign of consciousness, except for an instant on the arrival of his sons. They, on learning that the scene was about to close, obtained a new leave of absence from their posts, and both reached Abbotsford on the 19th. About half-past one P. M., on the 21st of September, Sir Walter breathed his last, in the presence of all his children. It was a beautiful day — so warm that every window was wide open — and so perfectly still, that the sound of all others most delicious to his ear, the gentle ripple of the Tweed over its pebbles, was distinctly audible as we knelt around the bed, and his eldest son kissed and closed his eyes." — p. 294.

The impression left upon the mind of every reader of these Memoirs of Sir Walter Scott must be, we should suppose, that he was an eminently happy man. There was much in his organization to insure happiness. There was much in his situation to gratify his ruling tastes. He had a sound body after childhood, capable of great endurance. His temper was sweet and equable. The elements were remarkably mixed in his nature, and his faculties peculiarly well balanced and harmonized. An active disposition, fond of constant exertion, and a remarkable sensibility to the charms of nature, added to an exquisite relish of social gratifications, rendered his enjoyments as various as the phases of many-colored life. Remarkable as were his memory, his fancy, his invention, we think his heart was the most wonderful phenomenon of his being. Its extensive sympathies, its quick and delicate sensibilities, its strong and steady attachments, its inexhaustible fountain of love, gave him as great a capacity of enjoying the varied feast which Providence spreads for man, as any person, whose history has been preserved. Well might he say of himself, when he quitted the field of poetry in favor of the superior genius of Byron, that if he did not possess the powers of that wonderful writer, he had more of what is essential to true happiness, than his noble friend. In respect to qualities of heart, as well as endowments of genius, Scott was wonderfully made. We marvel quite as much at the victories gained for him by his heart, as at the miracles of art, which were performed by the magic wand of his imagination.

It was this profound spring of affection within him, which made him so exemplary in the domestic relations. He was faithful as a father, husband, brother, son. His devotion to the good of his family is beautiful. It was this, which surrounded him with such troops of friends, not admirers; not mere gaping, staring, heartless idol-worshippers, but lovers and friends, true, sincere, and constant. It was this, which attached him to the brute creation, and, through the force of an animal instinct, that never misses its mark, attached them in turn to him, from horses and dogs, down to donkeys, hens, and even pigs. It was the operation of this same principle, which made him cling with such enthusiasm to the hills, and forests, and rivers, where his thoughts had come thickly over the mind, where legend or history associated him with glorious achievements, or where he had held sweet interview with the inhabitants of fairy-land.

His fancy was a mine of wealth to him, in the best sense of the phrase. To us, common mortals, it is not probably given, to conceive the exquisite gust with which life must have been relished by one, who possessed such a power of throwing a soft, rosy light over every scene. It must have been a perpetual feast, without satiety. He was surrounded, continually, by a Claude-Lorraine atmosphere. His wish was,

> "Give me the joy that sickens not the heart,
> Give me the wealth that has no wings to fly."

And this wish was gratified. His lands and money took to themselves wings. But the wealth within was not affected by accident, nor was it at the mercy of fortune. His fancy was to him a philosopher's stone. It transmuted every baser substance into gold.

The happiness of Sir Walter Scott was not merely sensual, or intellectual, or social. He was alive to the higher satisfactions, which grow out of man's moral nature, and which consist in the consciousness of labors strenuously performed, duties faithfully discharged, temptations manfully met and overcome, sufferings patiently, heroically borne. He had his troubles,—a large share. But he rose above them; he conquered them; he even made them, paradoxical as the remark may seem, promote his happiness. For we cannot doubt, that when he buckled to his great work of redeeming his estates, there was a stream of pure and noble satisfaction continually flowing in upon his serene and placid spirit.

The secret of his happiness must, doubtless, be sought, primarily, in his native quiet and sweetness of temper. But there is, moreover, one peculiarity in the direction his mind took, which accounts, in part, for the result. His mind dwelt chiefly in the past. It was not merely conservative in its tendency, but recreative. To use the beautiful words of his biographer, "the lamp of his zeal burnt on, brighter and brighter, amidst the dust of parchments; his love and pride vivified whatever he hung over, in these dim records; and patient antiquarianism, long brooding and meditating, became gloriously transmuted into the winged spirit of national poetry." He loved to repeople the silent wastes of the past. Through the magic influence of his imagination, the old crumbling castle and abbey were filled again with their mailed or cowled inmates. They lived over once more their lives, hoped their hopes, and wept their tears anew. The past is distinctly defined. The great outlines of its occurrences are marked. The imagination has only to fill up these outlines. But it is not so with the future. The imagination of the prophet, or of him who speculates on society, is agitated with uncertainties. If the image of evil rises, it is something vast, undefined, distorted. It is immense, without shape; a monster, that affrights the fancy. Scott was not unhappy; the bosom of his daily thoughts was not permanently ruffled, until he began to look *forward*, as a politician, amidst the shouts for reform, and contemplate, in his mind's eye, the uncertain destiny of his country. Then he seems to have lost his calm self-control. He saw, in prospect, nothing but clouds and darkness, or the ghastly relics of honor and peace, and the wild wreck of gallant hopes. Nor was Scott peculiar in this respect. Of the two eyes of the soul, that which looks back to the past is clear-sighted, and gazes upon pleasing, distinct images. That which looks forward into the future is dimmed. A vast haze mantles the boundless prospect. It seems as if the prospective vision were only given to man in a small measure, and by way of hint at some enlargement hereafter; or, by way of intimation, as to the capacities of higher orders of spirits. The prophets, of every age, have been martyrs in respect of tranquillity and peace of mind. And there seems to be a corresponding difference between the institutions of an aristocratic and those of a republican form of society. An aristocracy is fixed in some of its chief elements. A republic is constantly fluctuating. The institutions of the former are perpetuated from age to age. In

the latter there is a constant ebb and flow, as of the loose ocean. There is constant progress, says the enthusiast, in democracy. There is, at all events, constant motion; whether forward, or backward, or only cyclical. And a corresponding difference may be observed in the characters of those, who live under the two forms of society. An aristocracy wears an aspect of repose. Such virtues as contentment, patriotic pride, submission, are found among the people. The sentiment of antiquity sheds a twilight gentleness over the mind. The mind rests and enjoys. But in a democracy there is an irritable, impatient, fierce effort, continually after something better. Such a society has no pattern in real life. It works by an ideal, spiritual pattern. This leads it, frequently, to work by the unattainable, and to aim at the impracticable. A restless temper is apt to be created, which is always reaching forth, never satisfied. Having no idols without, it worships its own conceptions, as long as they remain mere conceptions; as soon as they are realized, in fact, they are laid aside, and the mind crowds on, in quest of some other shadow. As in the fable of Orpheus and Eurydice, the condition upon which these lovely phantoms are suffered to be brought up to earth is, that they shall not be turned upon, and looked full in the face. As soon as this is done, they vanish, and are lost forever. Scott was a true, consistent, thorough Tory. He loved the past; and he lived much in the past. He clung to existing institutions; even those, which, he could not but acknowledge, when he suffered his sagacious judgment to act without bias, to be defective, were yet dear to him. He preferred to retain them, rather than substitute new ones in their stead. If they needed, as he could not but allow they did, repairs, let the reform be conducted with a delicate and cautious hand, with much the same care with which the walls of some venerable ruin should be propped up, in order to preserve it. The idea of removing the ruin altogether, to make way for some substantial modern building, made after an abstract pattern of beauty, or commodiousness, would have appeared to his imagination like sacrilege. We will not discuss the merits of such a turn of mind. We adduce it only to show its bearing upon his own happiness.

Lockhart very modestly declines entering into a full analysis of Scott's character. "It was my wish," he observes, "to let the character develop itself; and, conscious that I have wilfully

withheld nothing that might assist the mature reader to arrive at just conclusions, I am by no means desirous of drawing out a detailed statement of my own." However difficult it may be to estimate such a character as a whole, there are certain prominent traits and qualities, which must strike every one, familiar with the narrative before us.

The kindness of his temper was unsurpassed. In this respect much was due to nature, and so far, he must be regarded as highly favored, rather than highly meritorious. But the most determined propensity to extenuate will allow, that, during so long a life as his, passed, not in retirement, in scholastic ease, or in domestic quiet, but, in the midst of men and affairs, frequently in the hot-press of parties, surrounded by a crowd of applicants for literary counsel and aid, — thronged, as his doors were, by all classes, and at all hours, besieged by lion-hunters, and sharp, pertinacious questioners, that stuck to him like burrs, — he was strongly tempted to part with his serenity, and, by one decided struggle, brush his path clear, and assert his freedom. But his temper was proof. If, sometimes, in his diary and letters, he expresses enough of impatience to prove that he was human, it was but temporary, and exerted no permanent influence upon his feelings. The surface was only wrinkled for a moment, and quickly resumed its placid benignity; and even his complaints are frequently clothed in a humorous dress, proving that he could play with his annoyances, and extract amusement from the most vexatious circumstances.

Scott's treatment of his servants, and of the humble poor, who lived in his neighborhood, is an illustration of his kindness of heart. Tom Purdie and Willie Laidlaw will live forever, associated with their gifted and distinguished friend and master. The former was his factotum, his staff, upon whom he leaned when he walked afield; the familiar companion, with whom he chatted in the midst of his plantations. The last mentioned person was of a higher order, the unfortunate head of an excellent family, a true representative of the worthy Scotch people, whom Scott presented to Washington Irving as a specimen of the pith and marrow of the Scottish character. "He conversed with his coachman, if he sat by him, as he often did, on the box; with his footman, if he happened to be in the ramble; and when there was any very young lad in the household, he held it a point of duty to see that his employments were so

arranged as to leave time for advancing his education, made him bring his copy-book once a week to the library, and examined him as to all that he was doing."

Scott's treatment of contemporary authors, whose friendship he preserved to the last, was another manifestation of the same kindness of heart. There is something quite refreshing in this part of his character. He was incapable of jealousy. His biography is disgraced by the details of no rivalships, no professional bickerings. No *odium literarium*, no sneering comments upon the writings of others, no efforts to depreciate the merits of other candidates for fame, are to be found in his letters, or other private documents. He was just to all, in honor preferring others to himself; entering with a hearty good will into the works of authors, whose principles of taste were entirely different from his own. Nor was he one man in the eye of the world, and a different man in the bosom of his family. There have been those, who could employ art's highest, most delicate instruments, in order to express and embody in words the most tender, amiable, and generous sentiments, from whose domestic recesses, when opened, the harshest discords have proceeded. It was not so with Scott. His writings, in their spirit, are a copy of his life in its habit. He lived upon love; he valued it more than applause or admiration. He shrunk from the idea of losing a friend, more than from the loss of literary reputation, or fortune. In reading his Life, if one is tempted to envy him anything, it is not what he possessed, nor his creative genius, nor his picture-sketching fancy; but his power of attracting and attaching to himself so much love.

That honor, of the most chivalrous type, and integrity, of the most firm and unbending quality, belonged to his character, the manner in which he bore the troubles, that afflicted the latter portion of his life, is sufficient proof. With how much fortitude, industry, self-denial, he set about his great and hopeless work, the Memoirs inform us, as we have already seen, with a sad particularity. That his patience and equanimity were not other forms of apathy, has been made apparent in the extracts from the Diary, which we have made. He was a martyr to his sense of duty. He gave himself as a sacrifice to the task of securing to others their just dues. That there was no mingling of pride with all this uprightness, we dare not assert. But his pride certainly took a noble direction. He was not encased in steel. He had not the stoic's boasted indifference. He was alive to

the miseries which he could yet endure. Whether he drew his strength of principle from the highest source, from religious, Christian principle, is a question we shall neither discuss nor entertain. Sufficient for us, that the fruit was so good. The tree must have been good, upon which it grew. With regard to his religion, we have simply to remark, that this was the single particular in which he appears not to have been a true Scotchman. He early conceived a dislike, perhaps owing to the rigid domestic discipline of his father's family, for the kirk, and became, and continued through life, a member of the Church of England. In the height of his prosperity, he took care to read the Church service in his family, and he insisted upon his guests, whether humble or noble, being present; and, in his closing days, he turned with reverence and affection to the *one Book*, which could alone give him satisfaction; and even in the delirium which preceded his death, his thoughts most frequently ran upon some of the exquisite hymns of the Latin Church.

The "*Stabat Mater dolorosa*," was fit strain to temper the madness of a sweet and gifted spirit, struggling to escape from its house of clay, and to enjoy the winged freedom of Heaven. Scott has sometimes been reproached for an undue attachment to money. His motives and impulses, say such objectors, were of a low order. He was dead to fame, and alive to pounds, shillings, and pence. Such is the satirical criticism sometimes passed upon him. Lord Byron ventured the same criticism, but saw cause to be ashamed of it, long before his death. That Scott worked with the hope and prospect of gain before him, cannot be denied. Neither can it be denied, that he set a greater value upon this sort of remuneration than some of his brother poets and authors. Poets have been proverbially poor, inhabiting garrets, living upon crusts and crumbs. But, if we examine the subject, we shall find, perhaps, that the straits of literary men are as frequently the result of their careless, thriftless habits, or their gross ignorance of prudential matters, as the necessary hap and lot of their tribe. And such ignorance or thriftlessness may be a subject of blame or contempt, rather than of commiseration. There is surely nothing commendable in a man's neglecting his own affairs, until he comes upon that charity, which one ought to have too much pride to accept, and too much providence to have needed. Is there not a false sentiment in the public mind in relation to this matter? It is thought, that a man of high intellectual endowments ought to

have nothing to do with the vulgar concerns that absorb the thoughts and passions of business men. He should scrupulously keep aloof from the money market. He should, with ascetic rigor, abjure the world and the bank. He should write for fame, or forsooth, because he has a "mission" (that is the word now) to accomplish, or a "message for the world." This taste is egregiously offended in Scott. His example dashes this theory very unceremoniously. He had high intellectual qualities; but he combined with them (what is most rare) practical shrewdness, worldly wisdom, business talent. Lockhart gives us, we believe, the true key to his character, when he tells us, that to found a family, to make himself the head of a branch of his clan, to revive the old life and hospitality of the Border chiefs, — was the dream of his life, the end at which all his efforts aimed. He was in a fair way to secure the object of his ambition, when all at once the cloud was dissolved, and the bright picture painted on it vanished. For this end he craved and used money as one of his instruments. And the prospect of obtaining pecuniary remuneration was, doubtless, a stimulus to his invention and industry. This seems to be the whole story. We may smile, in this prosaic age, at such a visionary project. We may call it imprudence, enthusiasm, folly; but we cannot brand it as avarice. We cannot surely say that mere love of money was at the bottom of such a purpose.

But the concluding years of his life furnish sufficient, and more than sufficient evidence to refute the charge we are noticing. It is plain from the course he then pursued, that he was capable of being influenced by the most honorable motives, and that he was utterly incapable of such a gross affection as love of money. Few can estimate the struggle that must have gone on in his mind, or conceive of the disappointment and agony he must have endured from the thought of parting with his lands. They were parts of his very soul. He was attached to every inch of ground. But there can be no true insight into his character, if it be supposed that this was only the vulgar passion for wealth; that it was the same feeling with which any common land or house-holder would have measured with his eye his broad acres, or trod his patrimonial floors. Scott loved his estates with a poetical devotion. They constituted to him not purse-property alone, but fancy and heart-property. Abbotsford was his soul materialized. It was an outward manifestation, in tower and buttress, garden

and plantation, of his internal life. He sought to express in some way his fancies, to set before his own eyes some palpable form of his desires and imaginings, and Abbotsford was the beautiful result. Shall such a man be confounded with the worldling, who would value his houses and lands according to their market price, and who would think only of what they would bring, if put up to sale under the hammer of the auctioneer? Whether Sir Walter was prudent in his expenditures, is another question, quite distinct. He, doubtless, had his hobby, and rode it, till it was halt, and limping threw him. But the hobby he rode was not in the shape of an ass, loaded with bags of gold. It was a more mettlesome hobby his.

Scott's genius has been designated a healthy one. We accept the word, if it be not intended thereby to depreciate his merit. It certainly expresses what was eminently a characteristic of his mind. We shall not presume to determine the niche he is to occupy in the estimation of posterity; we shall merely glance at a few of the phenomena which his intellectual character presents.

Keen observation belonged to him. This is evinced in his descriptions. Great sympathy with his fellow-men was, as his Memoirs prove in every page, a prominent quality of his mind, and fitted him for the particular species of literature he took in hand. This love of man was not limited to any one class or circle, but extended to the whole race. "Wisdom," as an Apocryphal writer reminds us, "is a living spirit." And it was because Scott loved his race, and sympathized with his fellow-men, even in the lowly walks of life, that he gained such knowledge of human nature, and was able to transfer to his pages such lively and impressive pictures of life and character. To the same source we may trace certain peculiarities in his style. It abounds in happy phrases borrowed from common life. He seems, in his conversation and in his works, ever to have had before him the reply of the Clerk of Copmanhurst to the question of his guest, what sort of a song he would have, "Downright English alone shall be sung in this cell." In this respect he may be classed with Shakspeare. They both were close students of human nature. They watched for touches of nature, and for bursts of true passion, in the humble walks of common life. "Fine folks," as Scott observed on a certain occasion, "are much the same in all countries." Their true nature is covered up by conventionalities. Their looks, their

actions, their manners are moulded by one pattern. The heartless, ironical creature of the saloon or court, — like a mummy, encased in so many folds and bandages that it is difficult to get at the real man or woman, which, when reached, shrinks to an amazingly small proportion, — is but a poor specimen of humanity. Not among such creatures of society, and results of mode, did Scott or Shakspeare watch for the genuine lines and touches of nature. Nor did they take their diction from the studied phrases, the trim, neat, fashionable speech, that dropped from the mechanically wagging tongues of such simperers. They went to the busy thoroughfares of the world, to the merry carousals of peasants, to scenes of humble sorrow, for words coined in the heart, and that bore Nature's image and superscription.

Scott seems to have had a wonderful command of his faculties. He was not mastered by his genius, but mastered that. His imagination did not lead him whithersoever it would, tossing him like a ship in a storm, now mountain high, and now plunging him into the depths, leaving him with strength broken and with spirits exhausted, like the same vessel, when dismasted, rudderless, and at the mercy of wind and wave; but he had tamed the divinity that inspired him, and made his genius do task-work, methodically and punctually. His industry was a habit that lasted through life. After he had been attacked by his mortal foe, and when advised by friends and physicians not to work his brain, his reply was, half humorous, half pathetic, "As for bidding me not work, Molly might as well put the kettle on the fire, and say, 'Now don't boil.'" "To myself," says Lockhart, "when I ventured to address him in a similar strain, he replied, 'I understand you, and I thank you from my heart, but I must tell you at once how it is with me. I am not sure that I am quite myself in all things; but I am sure that in one point there is no change. I mean that I foresee distinctly, that if I were to be idle I should go mad. In comparison to this, death is no risk to shrink from.'"

Sir Walter's rapid *extempore writing* has sometimes been spoken of sneeringly, as if it were subject for *wonder*, but not for *admiration*. He certainly cannot be proposed as a model in this respect for inferior minds, any more than Pegasus could be yoked to a hack to do road-service. But it may be doubted whether any more elaborate and careful mode of composition would have suited his peculiar habits of mind, or done justice

to his rich and exuberant genius. He might have been more correct as an artist, but the fire of his imagination would have been quenched, and his wing broken.

There is one point in Scott's literary character which is freely adverted to in the Memoirs, and which must attract the attention of every reader. Indeed a due consideration of this feature is essential to a right understanding of his genius. Not only was he entirely free from pedantry and book-rust, but he uniformly, through life, assigned a secondary rank to literature. He thought it should be set below any one of the great practical departments of life.

Some will think, doubtless, that he carried this sentiment too far, and entertained much too low an estimate of literature. Perhaps he did. Waving any discussion of that, we yet think that, as a writer and as a man, he derived many advantages from this sentiment. He always expressed the opinion that a man's higher faculties were benefitted in the upshot, by the regular, daily performance of some kind of common work, practical business. We think this conviction goes far to account for his marvellous success in literature, for the rich copiousness of his imagination, for the ease with which he composed, for the vast amount of labor which he was able to perform, and for the *healthiness* of his mind. He was not, as we have already said, a mere artist. He is not so remarkable for high and delicate finish to his pictures, as for a few bold vigorous strokes, rapidly drawn, and which hit to the life. He had none of the morbid fastidiousness so apt to be generated in the mind of the artist, in reference to his own productions. He knew when to stop. His work, therefore, was always accompanied with a glow and pleasure. He did not exhaust himself with alterations of plan or execution. He escaped all the languor, depression of spirits, and disgust at his performances, which the artist is often doomed to experience. He never gave up any of his hours to melancholy inaction, through despair of reaching and expressing his idea. But he was always ready to sit down to his task with a fresh mind and an unjaded fancy. His mind never was allowed to become stagnant; he kept it in motion by constant change of occupation.

It was the operation of the same opinion, that prevented him from contracting a narrow, exclusive way of thinking and feeling. An entire devotion of the mind to any one pursuit, like the constant, unrelieved use of one set of muscles in the

body, may enlarge and strengthen preternaturally the part of the body or the faculty of mind, which is thus exercised, but the man, as a whole, is injured and diseased. Scott never was so much of a student as to suffer his observation of men and affairs, of the world and nature and life, to be blunted. His sympathies with his fellow-men were not abated. He turned eagerly from his desk-work to the common occupations and the simple joys of life, and in this way his powers were refreshed, his knowledge of men was enlarged, his spirits were revived, his stores of illustration were increased, and his pen was ever ready to do its office.

We have said that there appears in Scott's character a rare union of common sense, and practical sagacity, with poetical sensibility, and creative genius. This union of rare qualities in his nature has something corresponding to it in the species of literature of which he was parent, namely, the Historical Novel,—which happily combines truth with fiction, poetry with fact, the interest of history with the interest of romance. It appeals to the imagination and the understanding alike, keeping within the bounds of probability, which had formerly been overstepped in works of fiction, and, at the same time, giving life and spirit to what would else be only dry bones. Scott was the prophet who looked upon this valley of dry bones, which history presented. He invoked the genius of poetry and romance to breathe upon them, and under the vivifying influence of his imagination, they rose up a great host. It may sound strange to ascribe to Scott's influence, antiutilitarian as he decidedly was in theory, any portion of the practical, useful character of modern literature. But much of this is due to him. By the character of its works of fiction, its light reading, the character of an age is apt to be determined. Much as Scott delighted in works of romance, in stories of chivalry, in the wild achievements, in the fanciful superstitions, and marvellous legends of Border tradition, he never gave into the exaggerated without qualification. This vein of common sense always came in to direct his imagination, and the marvellous was so mingled in his writings with the probable and natural, as to appear only a thread of gold, running here and there through the texture of the tale, heightening its beauty, without weakening its fabric.

Lockhart calls the attention of his readers to the fact, that Constable's Miscellany was the parent of the numerous libra-

ries which have since appeared, and which have had for their object to bring the principles of science and art within the reach and comprehension of all heads and all purses. He gives us an interesting account of a conversation in which that Czar of Booksellers opened his notions, which then seemed more extravagant than they do now. The conversation is interesting because of its prophetical character. It was the commencement of what is now a settled system of our times. We cannot assert, indeed, that Scott was directly the author of this modern system, this "one of the greatest revolutions that literary history will ever have to record." But he had done much in his writings to prepare the way for such a system, and to make Constable's project feasible. He was a Borderer between two eras in literature, and gave in his writings a pattern of the practical spirit which pervades our times. In this respect he certainly holds an interesting relation to the present state of society, and the influence, which his genius and writings have exerted in determining the character of modern literature, is deserving of a more ample discussion than our limits at present admit.

What has Sir Walter Scott done for the world? Let him who would have this question answered read the Memoirs before us. He, at least, in the words of his Biographer has "peopled all our firesides with inexpensive friends." He has done his share towards effecting a remarkable, and, in many respects, most beneficial revolution in the literary character of the age. He married amusement to advantage in his novels. He taught in his person, his manners, his character, his habits of life, some of the most useful lessons man can ever learn, or need ever be taught. An industry that nothing could tire, a fortitude which no difficulties could daunt, a humanity and kindness of which the race was at once the food and the object, a generosity which no envy ever interfered with, a knightly sense of honor *sans reproche*, an integrity from which no temptation could induce him to swerve; — all these qualities shine forth in his character for our admiration and instruction. Not in vain surely has such a man lived. His works will continue to shed a serene light upon many a heart. His life shall animate many a soul to virtue.

W. P. L.

ART. V. — *Das Christliche im Plato und in der Platonischen Philosophie entwickelt und hervorgehoben.* Von DR. C. ACKERMANN, Archdiaconus zu Jena. Hamburg: 1835. 8vo.

The Christian in Plato and in the Platonic Philosophy developed and presented. By DR. C. ACKERMANN, Archdeacon of Jena.

THERE are two classes of writers upon religion and philosophy. The most numerous seek to distinguish and separate; the smaller to join and identify. The former seek diversity; the latter unity. Both find what they seek; for if the remark of the artist, that men only see what they have antecedently in their mind, be at all true when applied to objects of sense, it is eminently more true when applied to objects of thought.

The writer of the work named at the head of this article belongs to the latter class. He seeks the True and the Holy, in all systems of Philosophy and Religion; and often discovers it when least expected. He is never disgusted at the oldness of a truth, nor alarmed at its new garb. He confesses his fondness for seeking after the harmony of systems apparently the most discordant. Yet he is never fantastic in his principles, nor capricious in applying them.

Dr. Ackermann does not attempt to determine the relation of Platonism to Christianity; much less with some of the early Christian writers to place them on the same level; but simply to point out the resemblance in doctrine, even in language, in design, and in the general spirit, — between the teachings of Plato and the New Testament. He does not seek for this similarity in form only, or in philosophical or theological doctrines, but in the spirit which characterizes the writings of Plato.

This work is one of singular beauty; it is distinguished by critical acuteness, justness of perception, a delicacy of religious sentiment, and a thoroughly Christian spirit. The author usually avoids the errors of his countrymen, who are so often learned without wisdom, and profound without clearness, and rarely envelopes himself in a mist. In the remainder of this article we propose to treat of the same subject, giving mainly his views and sometimes translating literally from his beautiful pages.

The author shows that Plato was highly esteemed by the Christian fathers. They found his teachings congenial with those of Jesus, and the doctrines of the Old Testament; but forgetting that all profound, and simple-hearted inquirers closely resemble one another, they attempted to explain this congeniality by pretending that he drew from the writings of Scripture. "What is Plato but Moses atticising," says Josephus. The opponents of Christianity, on the contrary, pretended that Jesus had borrowed his best sayings from Plato; that Christianity was derived from Platonism, which was in part misunderstood, and in part perverted. The folly of both parties is evident. Justin, with more probability, refers their agreement to the primal revelation, the light which once enlightened the whole earth. Clement of Alexandria deduced the True and the Beautiful in the Greek philosophy from the primitive fountain of Wisdom. He delighted to trace the similarity between Platonism and Christianity. To him, Faith was no less the foundation of knowledge than of the Christian life. But this faith was to be enlightened by philosophy; belief to be converted to knowledge. True Religion and true Platonism he considered identical; the union of the head and the heart. The Greeks had their imperfect philosophy, and the Jews had their imperfect law, as a schoolmaster to bring them to Christianity. Nay, more, this philosophy was a sort of Christ, to justify them before God. He seems to have thought that Christianity was Platonism, purified from all its errors, raised to perfection, and applied to life. The Platonic Ideal was refined and actualized. He was somewhat wary in expressing this belief; but it appears, says the author, in his writings and even in those of the rigid Augustine. "That," says the latter, "which we now call the Christian religion, was among the ancients. It never failed from the beginning of Man till Christ came in the flesh. Then the true Religion, previously existing, was called Christianity." * In his confessions he thanks God, that he first became acquainted with Plato, then with the Gospel. Origen, still more friendly to Platonism, transferred the whole Academy into the Christian church.

But this partiality arose from no division of their hearts between the new religion and the old philosophy. They hon-

* City of God, VIII. 8. This book, says some one, is the purest fruit of the hearty union of Platonism and Christianity.

ored Plato for the Christian denial so conspicuous in his character and writings. He was the servant, — he held the same place with Moses, and prepared the way to Christ. His Philosophy was appointed by God for the gradual redemption of man. But had he lived in the time of Jesus, he would have been a Christian. When the New Platonists fantastically attempted to elevate their master above the Savior, then the Christian Platonists were ready to attack them. There were, however, always some teachers in the Christian Church who abjured all philosophy, considering it as the work of the great Patriarch of lies. But the greatest minds in Christian antiquity were ever desirous of bringing Plato within the pale of their Church; they wished to show how Christian he was. The younger Apollinaris even attempted to change the whole New Testament into Platonic dialogues. From this desire of the Fathers arose the popular legend that when Christ descended to the lower world, he conversed with Plato, redeemed him, and restored him to happiness.

Dr. Ackermann traces the progress of Christian Platonism, in the middle ages. We will pass briefly over this subject. Aristotle drove Plato from the field. The Scholastics were not acquainted with Greek, and Plato was still clothed in his own imperial purple, and not in the rags of a Latin version. The prevalent reverence for Augustine, and the mysticism which obtained during the middle ages, conspired to fan the embers of the Platonic fire. The writings of the pretended Dionysius the Areopagite contain a system of Neo-Platonism translated into Christian language. Scotus Esigena, by his beautiful Latin version of the books of Dionysius, gave a still wider extension to his doctrines. The author brings the history of Christian Platonism down to our times, and collects numerous passages from the writings of Plato, which, as he says, "have a Christian sound." We shall transfer a few of them to these pages, trusting they will recall to the reader the similar passages of holy writ.

"It is impossible to be rich and at the same time to be very good." "It is worse to do wrong than to suffer wrong." "To do wrong is far worse than death." "I must rather obey God, than you men." "He that does what is right and well pleasing to God, he is righteous and well pleasing to God." "It is impossible to possess great wealth, and at the same time modera-

tion; one must be renounced." "Only the lawful runner can reach the goal, and win the crown." "If now we hold fast this conviction, and believe that the soul is immortal, and able to endure all the Evil and all the Good of life, we shall then ever pursue the upward way, and shall strive after righteousness and wisdom, by all means; thereby we shall be friends to ourselves and to the gods while we remain here, and then, like conquerors, we shall be honored with the recompense for the struggle, and shall be truly happy." "Charity removes all disaffection towards others; fills us with esteem for them. It removes rudeness; gives us gentleness. It persists in well wishing, and abstains from ill-wishing. It is friendly, self-denying, agreeable to God and man." "Do we not know that to him, who is beloved of God, all evil which comes from the gods is for the best? — Yea, thus must we think of right doing, that if he falls into poverty, or into sickness, or into any other of the so called evils, that at the end they will conduct to some good, in life, or in death."

The Attic and the Jewish Moses have many precepts in common. Both forbid men to take the name of God in vain. "Honor thy parents by word and by deed," says Plato. "If any man have in his house father or mother, or men weak with age, hold it for certain that he has no reliques more precious, though he is never so rich." "The child shall not suffer for its father's sin."

The similarity between Platonism and Christianity consists more in tone and spirit, than in words and sentences.

"Of the most excellent portion of the soul it must be said, God has given it to each man as a seal of divinity, which may elevate us from the earth to an affinity with Heaven; for we are not sprung from the earth but from Heaven." "They who thoughtless, and without virtue, are given to dainties and similar things, are soon drawn into the deep; thence they arise to a certain medium; and between these they fluctuate all their life. Above this medium, they never rise; they never look to the truly lofty, nor feel attracted to it. They never satisfy the essential condition of life; they never taste pure and permanent enjoyment; but like brute beasts they look down, and bow down to the earth and to their food; they wear out their lives in intemperance, — and with unappeasable desires."

The beauty of life is the subjection of the animal to the human, or rather to divine power in man. But the deformity of

life is a slavery, where the better influence is subjected to the worse. "Can it be of use to a man to get gold by injustice? Nay; thereby he subjects the Beautiful in his nature to the Contemptible, and so becomes wretched. Would it be accounted a righteous gain, if a man were to sell his son, or daughter as a slave to a cruel or violent master, though he received never so much money therefrom? Now, when a man causes the Divine in him to serve the Ungodly, and has no compassion on himself, is he not most of all to be pitied?" It is impossible to escape the justice of God. With him every day is yesterday's day of judgment, itself to be judged by to-morrow. Only the Holy and the True are truly blessed. They who only *seem* holy enjoy only the *semblance* of happiness. Hollow men of Seeming collapse under God's Justice; only real men of Being can stand with him. Plato speaks of the Sophists as Jesus speaks of the Scribes and Pharisees. They were the Pharisees of Athens.

There is a coincidence between the dogmas and ethical doctrines of Plato and of Jesus, quite as remarkable as the similarity of their thoughts and expressions. He speaks of the existence, attributes, names, and works of the Supreme Being in a Christian sense. The same spirit marks his doctrines upon the nature and value of the soul; the power of sin; the beauty and loftiness of virtue; the perfection of divine justice; the duration and completeness of rewards and punishments after death. Neither Plato nor the writers of the Bible ever attempt to prove the existence of God. Both start with this admission. There is an immediate consciousness of God, as inseparable from the soul as self-consciousness. To him, as to the Scripture, God is past finding out. "It is difficult to find out the Maker and Father of the All, and when found it is impossible to communicate a knowledge of Him to all men." The nearest approach to a knowledge of God is in the idea of goodness, or as John says, "God is Love." "Knowledge," says Plato, "is not conceivable without the idea of God." From him knowledge proceeds; to him it tends; in him it rests. God is the beginning and the end of all. He is the measure of all Being. Theology, therefore, is anterior to Philosophy.*

* An Indian Philosopher, at Athens, once asked Socrates, how he should begin to philosophize. Socrates replied, By reflecting on human

Plato was a believer in one God. This is evident in all his writings, and is admitted by the Fathers. Perhaps he believed in subordinate spirits, as the Jews believed there were multitudes of angels; but he always maintains the unity of God. He calls him Father; Father of all, — Creator; the only existing King and Governor of the world. He is without beginning or end. He exists out of time and space, — the infinite cause, all-powerful, all-wise, all-lovely. Nothing escapes him. He sees the whole, and provides for the minutest part. He is the God of Truth. His justice never leaves the good unrewarded, the vicious unpunished. He wills the highest good and ultimately produces it. Plato conceives of the Deity as without affection, emotionless. In this he differs from the beautiful teachings of the Scripture. Nay, himself is often triumphantly inconsistent with this opinion.

The prayer and devotion, that Plato enjoins, are consistent with his sublime ideas of God. It is the prayer "in Spirit and in Truth" which he commands. Pious sentiments, — a virtuous life; these are the sacrifices most acceptable to God, who is not to be bribed by ceremonies and forms. "When we pray," says the sage, "we must never forget that God knows better than we what will promote our welfare, and so we must acquiesce in his wisdom, whether he grants or denies." The world is an image of the Divine Idea; God is well pleased with his work. It is difficult to ascertain what he means by the soul of the world. But it is quite plain that Jesus taught no doctrine corresponding to it; though some of his pious followers have believed in such an entity.* Perhaps it is another name for the "providence of God, which watches over the all of things," and which he reveres as perfect. The greatest evils in the world disappear when looked into minutely. To an eye that could take in creation evil would nowhere appear; all things would work together for good.

Plato never deduces these sublime truths from the human understanding; he is no cold rationalist. Two sources furnish him truth; viz. traditon and the life of God in the human soul. The former resolves itself into the latter; for all tradition is only the well-trod path that leads to the fountains of

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life. The Oriental theosopher smiled, and said, "So long as we have not clear notions of the Divine, we shall get no insight into the Human."

* See the writings of *Henry Moore*, passim.

living water in the souls of old men eloquent. It even extends back to the primitive state of man, before the spirit assumed a body: for he maintains that the soul creates its material envelope by God's direction, — when it lives more intimately with God, and has immediate intuition of truth. Hence he values tradition most highly, especially tales of very olden time, when there was "open vision," when the spontaneous, and divine sentiment prevailed over the calculations of prudence, and the conclusions of the imperfect understanding. He refers to the writings of the old Poets, as Jesus and his disciples quote the works of the Prophets and Psalmists.

To Plato truth is nothing mortal, nor merely subjective. It flows a pure stream from God into every soul. All receive some little portion of it, or they would die. To all is a revelation made, if they would follow it. "The true light lighteth every man," says John. The soul of man is entirely different from all material things; it belongs to the higher sphere of spiritual and immortal essences. In his view of the absolute eternity and preëxistence of the soul, as well as its transmigrations, he differs heaven-wide from the New Testament. But when he calls the body a grave of the soul, and explains man's present degradation as the consequence of his voluntary "fall" from a state of purity, — his words recall the analogous doctrines taught in many parts of the Bible. He speaks like a Christian of the value of the soul; of the necessity of salvation. Salvation is the object all men are striving to attain. Sin is without, in the world; the temptations of the flesh are seducing us from within; and therefore the struggle is arduous, but necessary. With Plato and with Paul, — life is a battle.

The Bible from end to end treats of sin, its origin, its action, its awful consequences, the means of overcoming it. The ancient heathen writers rarely speak of this. But Plato forms an exception, and dwells long and earnestly upon this subject. It consists in a departure from God's law written on the heart; in a disobedience of the higher and better principles; in a sacrifice of man's celestial aspirations to his earthly appetites. Is he unscriptural in deriving much evil from the connexion between the body and the soul? He seems to vacillate, sometimes admitting an evil principle in man, which we are to overcome, and again denying the existence of such a principle. The main sources of sinful action are ignorance, bad education, wealth, vanity, selfishness, unbelief, pride, God-

lessness. He points out the close connection between unbelief and immorality. One is sin in speculation, the other sin in action. Sin renders the soul sick and hateful; makes it a slave; robs it of fairest peace in this life, and in the next of its most perfect bliss. The means of relief from sin are a good education, penal justice, — for all God's chastisements are remedial, none vindictive, — and philosophy. Sin is a sickness, philosophy is the medicinal art.

From what has already been said of Plato's views respecting man and God, and the relation between them, it would follow that his ethics must be pure. This is not a matter of inference merely. His ethical doctrine is the fairest flower, nay, the richest fruit from the groves of Academus. Virtue is likeness to God. The virtuous are his friends, his children. Virtue is the health, the beauty, the harmony of the soul; it is the soul's true life. Piety towards God is the greatest of virtues. True, he sometimes places wisdom as the crown-virtue, but it ever is in the sense of the Apocryphal writer, "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, — the crown of wisdom, — the fulness of wisdom." We think we are listening to the great Apostle to the Gentiles, when he describes the battle of life, and commands us to love goodness for itself, not for the sake of any advantages resulting from it. Duty is to be done, come what will come. The greatest calamity is not to *suffer* wrong, but to *do* wrong. In conformity with this view he describes a suffering righteous man, as the Gospels speak of the action, sufferings, mockings, and scourgings and death of Jesus. But his righteous man never loses his recompense. Virtue has its reward in itself, and its necessary consequence. He who keeps the soul's law shall surely be blessed, for he is on the side of God. Since the soul is immortal, all wrongs shall be righted in the life to come.* The shade of future retribution darkens the death-hour of the wicked.

But from all the foregoing, continues the author, it does not follow that Plato was a Christian. He is not a Christian because he has these thoughts; but he has them because he is a Christian. They are natural to Christianity, and their resemblance is striking. But all these passages, if they really have the meaning ascribed to them, do not *prove* the existence of

* Some of his arguments for the immortality of the soul are less Christian in form than in spirit. The Phædo always makes a deep impression.

a Christian element in Plato, for this does not consist in opinions. The peculiarity of Christianity consists in its spirit, not its doctrines. The Christian element in Plato is not to be discovered mainly in his opinions, though he thinks like an angel, but in his spirit and his life. Christianity and life are united by the Almighty, and what God has joined let not man put asunder. They exist not only *for* one another, but *in* one another. Life cannot be understood in its depths without Christianity, and the latter is only known when it is made life; then the Word becomes flesh and dwells amongst us.

The Bible is not to be learned in college halls, nor old libraries, but in green and growing life. If we direct our attention to both life and Christianity, we may form a conception of the natural state of the one, and the penetrating influence of the other. Where life admits, joyfully, the influence of Christianity, there it is Christian; where it receives it with indifference, it is not Christian; and where it repels, there it is *un*-Christian.

Then to draw the parallel closer between Christianity and Platonism, he inquires into the peculiarities of the former. How does it differ from all other religions of the world? He does not account the doctrine of the divine Unity, or the soul's immortality, as peculiar to Christianity. He says nothing of the miracles, and seems to think that Christianity is not dependent upon them for its establishment or support. Dr. Ackermann loves totality, and therefore before he indicates the peculiarities of the Christian religion, he inquires, what does man wish for above all things? what does he long for with the deepest yearning; strive for with the greatest zeal; pray for with the most earnest entreaty? Man would be what he feels he should be; would unfold the latent powers of his soul; obey with unrestrained movement the mysterious and lofty impulses of his being. In his heart are desires and impulses, the In must Out. Over him soars a lofty Ideal of beauty, wisdom, virtue, and religion. This Ideal he wishes to render his Actual. He would give an Outness to the Internal. The design of Christianity is to aid these efforts, and to promote "the progressive development of the soul."

Nature seems to aid man in this work. It gives perfect satisfaction to the natural instincts of all creatures. The fundamental note of creation's concert is Joy. Nature rejoices in its Ruler's power. Does this hold good with man? Are beauty and satisfaction as frequent in society as in the field?

It cannot be that the All-wise fashioned man, yet omitted some power which is indispensable to man's development, and adds it afterwards. Christianity is no appendix to creation. Whatever is its design, it can never fill up a chasm originally left in creation.

Man, like all other parts of creation, is provided for; all his faculties may bloom. There is power to awaken its slumbering germ; to protect the rising plant. What obstacle to man's progress that he cannot remove? At what stage in his progress is he unable to do all and bear all, that is necessary to ensure his happiness and perfection? Food and raiment are provided for the body; the senses are satisfied; imagination lacks nothing. The artistic force, the creative instinct, find materials to employ, ideas to embody; for the social feelings there is the intercourse of life, trade and conversation, friendship and love. Hope arches the rain-bow over every gloomy care. Everywhere the heart finds love, the spirit its world of thought. When viewed upon the lovely side, Society is a bride richly decked with charms never fading. No doctrine so cheering, none so generally believed, as that of the all-sufficiency of life for man's dignity and happiness. It is the doctrine of the world, and of its happy children.* But, says the Scripture, wo "to those who say peace, peace, when there is no peace." Life has a melancholy reverse. "When Bluebeard went to his wedding, he arrayed himself in the enchanting splendor of Baronial nobility, and the fair one whom he brought home looked upon her life in his splendid castle, as the happiest upon earth. But when she obeyed the resistless impulse of her nature, entered the secret and awful chamber, and saw the mangled corpses of women on the floor, weltering in blood, when quick as light she was seized by the terrible certainty that in a short time, the same fate awaited her, she shrunk fearfully together, and the treacherous key fell from the quivering hands." Such, says he, would be the terror of many, should they turn at once from the sunny flower-garden of life, to its damp, and shade, and wretchedness. The life of man differs marvellously from that of the plants. Without an higher influence, it is not the Human, but the Animal, which is developed, and

* Goethe among the Germans may be considered as the exponent of this side of humanity. Schiller represents the sterner and more serious part of man. Both are beautifully united in Jean Paul.

the Animal speedily becomes Bestial.* The better life is natural to man; but while each plant and insect is in its right course, and answers its design, man is not in the right path; does not answer his design. How deep is his degradation; how vast the power of evil now domesticated in life.† Have not thousands of political, philosophical, intellectual, and moral levers been at work for thousands of years to elevate man to his proper dignity? How little have they effected! If life ever blooms fresh, spontaneous, vigorous, it is the sensual and not the moral part of life. How many moral deserts in society! In the world of nature these evils are accounted for. There, nothing is for itself; the ox and the eagle are not individuals; are not self-conscious. It is therefore of little importance if one suffers, and the other produces pain. The good of the whole may be promoted by the misfortune of a part. Physical evil, therefore, is no reproach to nature, for in nature there is only a generic life; but in man, life is personal, individual, self-conscious. There physical evil is limited in time and space; here it extends throughout the whole circle of man's development.

Man perceives the evil of his fate; attempts to shake off the yoke. He complains of his lot. It is the voice of a noble prisoner who sighs for freedom; sleeps neither night nor day. "I am more," says he, "than a walking fountain of blood; more than a transient expansion of nerves. I am a being created for life, and a struggle; a power destined to an independent existence. But I am a creature restricted and abused, a poor bond-slave." Man feels his guilt, and seeks to cast off the load; hence his restless haste to fill up all his moments; his dissatisfaction at the feeling of emptiness constantly returning; his sin offerings, his penance, the rigor of monastic vows, the variety of holy forms, purifications, prayers, and mysteries. He

* A beautiful thought of an exquisite old scholar is of similar tenor. "There is a very exquisite particular Providence, reaching to every individual thing or person in the world, it being as easy for God to see *all* things, as to see *any one* thing. Now his goodness and power being no less immense, (than infinity,) it will follow that there is not anything that befalls the meanest creature in the whole creation, but that it was suitable to the goodness of God to cause or permit it. For though it may seem, for the present, harsh to that particular being, yet at the length it may prove for his *greater advantage.*" — *Henry More's* "Grand mystery of Godliness."

† "Und ganz Kannibalisch wohl
Als wie fünf hundert Säuen," says Goethe.

feels how far his actual is below his ideal life. The more society is developed, the more does he feel this. Hence are his constant oscillations between the Lofty and the Low; hence his countless inconsistencies, his desire of clearness and confusion, his effort to embrace himself and to escape from himself, his fondness for quiet and for tumult; hence his groping after a secure standing place, his endless pain, his endless lament at the dreary nothingness of his transient glory, and his toilsome work; his insatiable longing after pure and permanent happiness, his childish love of miracles, legends, and romances, — a mirror where he sees himself satisfied and made perfect. He sees he has an history whose ground is sorrow; its substance, facts; its end, his complete development. Hence his delight in poetry, which glorifies his sorrows and his deeds; his tendency to lyric flights, to a belief in seers, oracles, and signs.

From these accumulated evils what shall save man? He seeks salvation in nature, in art, in philosophy, in civilization, in morality. He seeks in vain. His religious sentiments are disarmed. Remedies from the outward world will not effect the cure. The soul seeks God. Nothing else will satisfy *or restore it.* The living love of God is the only Savior.

This idea is beautifully illustrated by a writer of the thirteenth century, whose works have recently been given to the world in a modern dress.

"God gave to one of his friends on earth so high an illumination, that He revealed to him the Holy Scriptures in their entire meaning. He gave him a view of the life of men; separated for him Seeming from Being. He showed him that the life and works of many men appear good without, but are of no value in the sight of God; and, on the other hand, that many works seemingly humble, are highly prized by God. In short, God showed His friend great and extraordinary things. But he said 'neither that, nor this, do I want, my Lord. Take it away, it is all pain to me.' The Lord withdrew from him all the works of His grace. Five years, without consolation, He left him in great temptation and peril. Then he wept heavily, and the Lord sent His angel to comfort him. 'Oh Lord, my God,' said he, 'I want no consolation. It is enough for me to know the place where thou dwellest in my soul, for besides Thee nothing shines therein, nor enters.' Then a great light shone around him, and the heavenly Father said, 'I will give thee my Son, ever to accompany thee.' He replied, 'No, Father; in Thee, in Thine

own Being, I desire to be.' Then said the Father, 'Thou art my Son, in whom I am well pleased.'"— *Tauler's Medulla Animæ, Casseder's ed.* p. 10.

This could be taught only by the Christian life, of which ideals had been formed more or less perfect, but which was fully and fairly presented to Humanity, only in the life and works of Jesus. Before man could pass from the earthly to the heavenly life, some one was needed to fill up the immense chasm between the Actual and the Ideal. This was the mission of Christ. The history of the world has no fresher nor fuller life, none more beautiful nor pure. Here no sinful emotion bedims the mirror of the clear spirit. No evil deed, no impure thought, disturbs the inward peace. Here active life has nothing vexatious, faint, imperfect, or wearisome. Here good will never sighs over unfinished works; here no important affair waits vainly for completion. Here is complete fulness, consistency, truth, dignity, earnestness, peace. Here is a finished being; finished works. Here is a life emanating from its ideal, and perfectly faithful to it. "He is the purest among the mighty, the mightiest among the pure."*

In him is the love of God perfect; communion with God is never interrupted. His freedom is his union with God; for freedom and oneness with God are identical. He was the perfect Actual of the loftiest Ideal. The son of God is one with the son of man; humanity and divinity are equally incarnated in him. In him also is love of man perfect. It transcends all bounds of clan, or country, or age. All men are of his age, his country, and his clan. His love of man as man cannot be separated from his love of God. His whole life within and without is the life of the Divine; he is the kingdom of Heaven. His life excludes all the misery and wretchedness of sin, and includes the fulness and blessedness of life. It was marked by the powerful presence of God, and the love of God in the soul. This, wherever it is, produces his Life, his Works, his Peace.

We now see the peculiarity of Christianity. Salvation from sin, spiritual death, and hell; restoration to the love of God and the love of man, — these all men want. This salvation is the Redeemer's gift. Christianity is the saving power; not that it gives happiness without holiness, but leads to the latter, and

* Jean Paul.

thereby secures the former. The Old Testament expresses the universal want; the New Testament the universal satisfaction. The sum of the one is, "the wages of sin is death;" of the other, "the gift of God is everlasting Life." Christianity aims to relieve man from sin; by destroying the cause, to remove the consequences at the same time. It sees sin in the whole character, not in any single acts or expressions. Alienation from God is the root of all sin. To restore man, it proposes two remedies, universal love, love to man, to all men, Gentile and Jew, virtuous and vicious, to man, as man; and love to God, transcending all earthly affection. Christianity is the power of salvation; Judaism the expectation of that power, and Heathenism the imagination of it. The expectation of salvation, the life of Faith and Hope, from Abraham to our times, has ever been the soul of Judaism; while the search after satisfaction, — an imaginary salvation, while actual, God-given salvation is wanting, — is the main element of Heathenism. It pervades it, through all the heathen symbols, images, and liturgies, to the ethereal region of spiritual idolatry.

Dr. Ackermann applies this idea of Christianity to measure Platonism, and ascertain how far it is animated by a Christian spirit. Plato understands man's need of salvation. He is moved at the sickness of suffering humanity, and expresses that "divine deep of sorrow," so remarkable in the discourses of Jesus.* A melancholy earnestness pervades all the writings of Plato. In this they differ essentially from other productions of laughing Greece. From the beginning of Phædrus, — which is the overture to the grand philosophic harmony, — to the end of the Timæus, which closes this seraphic concert, — this melancholy spirit prevails. Plato, like Jesus, saw sin, not only on the surface of the character, but in the deep places of the heart. He found misery in the sanctuary as well as in the fore-court of life. All evil he attributes to sin; and sin is disobedience to God's law written in human nature. Falsehood, heartlessness, the effort to *seem*, and not to *be*, is the cause of misery. The essence of sin is alienation from God. In this

* This "Divine Deep of Sorrow" is one of the most obvious features of Christianity. It is "Rachel weeping for her children." All the paintings and casts of the Savior are true to this sentiment. Sorrowful repose, a profound religious melancholy, yet pleasing and attractive, is almost universally expressed in paintings of the Savior. Is it not this which renders the gospel so comforting in affliction?

both he and Jesus agree. Plato maintains that man can never be happy until he has returned to God. Holy love is the remedy for his diseased soul. This will ensure him salvation; will unite him to God. Plato attempts to effect two objects; first to convince men of their need of salvation, next to excite within them a love of God, a love of the true, the holy, and the good. He maintains that men "must be born again," before they can see peace and happiness; so great is the change they must pass through. Let it not be supposed Plato limited salvation to this life. Not he. He deemed it difficult to attain on earth. All men must meet tribulation in this life; the best men see their hopes fail, their expectations cut off, their friends forsake them. But death shall end this scene. Then what the stream of time sweeps away unpunished, shall receive its exact retribution. But even in the next world all chastisement is for the offender's good. A merciful God inflicts correction that his erring child may be made better, and consequently happier. Long as this may last, severe as it may be, its design is mercy, not vengeance. Plato maintains that most men, if not all, are unable to work out their own salvation entirely; and much will therefore be done for them by the Father of all, if they are but faithful.* "It is God that worketh in us, both to will and to do," says the Apostle.

Our author mentions some points in which Plato differs from Jesus. He could only point out the salvation; he could not bring it to man; and while Platonism in the main agrees with Christianity, in some particulars it differs from it. There is something Not-Christian, something Unchristian in Plato. He once permits his magistrate to do evil that good may come; nay, to make use of a lie to further his end. He is selfish, stating that a good man must abstain from public life, leaving the incurable to destruction, rather than expose himself; while Jesus makes him the greatest who does the most for sinful man. In his ideal Republic, he advocates a community of wives, though with most humane motives, and exposes feeble children that they may speedily die and be no burthen to the state. He

* This idea was common in antiquity. "God pities the reptile man aspiring from earth to Heaven, and aids him to rise," said one of the Gnostics. This idea of human inability and divine forgiveness and assistance is beautifully illustrated in the story of *Psyche*, the most beautiful gem which antiquity bequeaths us.

accounts women an inferior race, although he would give them a manly and liberal education. He permitted slavery in his Ideal of a state, though he moderated its severity. His philanthropy never extended beyond the limits of Greece. He is sometimes accused of Pantheism, — but he only finds the divine spirit in man, and proofs of God's wisdom and power wherever he turns. His doctrine of the soul of the world is *not* Christian, it is quite certain, but it is no more *un*-Christian than the popular doctrine of Angels. It is sometimes pleaded in extenuation of these objections, that the age is responsible for these errors of doctrine. This is true. Plato looked far beyond the horizon of his own day, and yet was sometimes misled by the false lights of his age. His excuse is obvious. But when his teachings are compared with those of Christianity, it should be remembered there is nothing local, or temporal in the latter.

There is one important distinction between the spirit of Plato and that of Christianity, not dwelt upon by this author. The spirit of universal philanthropy breathes in every word of Jesus. All men are brothers to all. He values man, old, poor, vicious, as man, and counts nothing too much to be done for his salvation. A man is not to be healed when sick, educated in youth, and disciplined in manhood, because he is a member of the state, and may be useful to the state, but because he is a man. With Plato, the state is all; the man is little. How different with Christianity! In Platonism there is little of true philanthropy; there is little in all heathen, or Jewish antiquity. In olden times, the Roman, or the Greek went to distant lands to seek wealth, to plunder, to kill, sometimes to gain instruction, sometimes to eat larger mullet, always seeking to benefit himself. Can antiquity furnish a parallel to modern missionary efforts? Be those efforts useful or injurious, there can be no doubt that they are the result of the purest, noblest feelings, — of feelings which Plato did little to encourage; feelings which had no action in his Ideal of a state. Would Plato's spirit suggest a ministry to the poor? Here, we have ever thought, is the peculiarity of the Christian doctrines, in love intense and universal, which continues, though it is repaid with hatred, love which prays for its persecutors and murderers.*

* "The greatest productions of human genius have little quickening power in comparison with these simple narratives, (the Gospels.) In reading the Gospels, I feel myself in presence of one who speaks as

But let us return to Dr. Ackermann. The essential of Christianity consists in its *power* of salvation; that of Platonism in its *aim* at salvation. In Christianity salvation is present in its efficacy and its works; in Platonism, only in thought, and as the object aimed at. The Christian redemption proceeds immediately to life, adheres closely to life, for it proceeeed from it; that of Platonism is a product of speculations and belongs the rather to science, over which, in life, it is not fitted to produce a particular influence. It is not the actual, not concrete, but abstract wisdom, which the spirit of Plato has comprehended. Near as his theology and view of the world may approach the Christian scheme, it is still destitute of the peculiar vigor and animation, the living heart-beat of Christianity, viz. the character and actions, the life and sufferings of the Redeemer. This is, and will ever be, the important point which essentially distinguishes not only heathenism, but every other religion and form of faith from Christianity. No man can contemplate the religious and moral doctrines of the heathens without a deep admiration at the surprising similarity with the Christian. The deeper we penetrate into the writings of antiquity, the less can we avoid the conviction, that, in regard to doctrines, they are but little inferior to Christianity. They contain not only almost all the moral doctrines and sublime sentences which the Gospel presents us, but they often conceive them more clearly and express them more beautifully. They who can boast of nothing better in Christianity than "its incomparable precepts," its sayings and moral sentences, know not what they do and say. Certainly, it is not the doctrine which raises Christianity high above all religions which have been formed and diffused in the course of time. Sages, who were not Christians, have taught the Noble and Divine with nearly the same purity and sublimity, as the Founder of Christianity, whom some think to honor by calling him the "Sage of Nazareth." But in the power of the idea and emotion, in the life and love of the Holy on the earth, in the incarnation of the divine Word, no philosophy and speculation of the world can compete with Christianity; for

man never spake; whose voice is not of the earth; who speaks with a tone of reality and authority altogether his own; who speaks of God, as conscious of his immediate presence, as enjoying with him the intimacy of an only son; and who speaks of heaven, as most familiar with higher states of being." — Dr. Channing's Discourse before the Sunday School Society.

Illustrations exhibiting the evidences on important and difficult points more at length. We do not think that his method is so clear, simple, and direct as it might be. In other respects the topics are selected with judgment, and urged with uncommon seriousness and unction, and a constant reference to their interest and suitableness as matters of general discussion. He has also availed himself to a considerable extent of the new light which recent investigations of the German critics have thrown on the literary history of the Scriptures, and in this way has done much to popularize what is truly valuable in their writings, without doing anything to promote or countenance their love of theory, or license of speculation.

We owe this version to the desire of the translator to provide a manual for his Sunday School pupils, better adapted to their tastes and capacities than "the admirable works of Paley and Norton." He was encouraged to go on, he tells us in the preface, when he saw, "the interest with which they listened to its pages, the joy and animation which beamed from their countenances, as the work developed the beautiful character of the Savior, the wonderful history of the Apostles, and the powerful proofs for the authenticity of their works, and the honesty of their intentions." Other teachers, we doubt not, will eagerly avail themselves of this timely and very important auxiliary in their useful labors, making it necessary that a new edition should soon be issued. In that event we hope that the whole may be carefully revised, as several passages bear marks of haste, or want of practice and skill in composition. Thus, on page 41, "A state of things which *cannot be explained only* by a common source." Better, "can only be explained." Page 147: "In my opinion, according to good criticism, there is no longer any material for objection, than against these two." For *than* read *but;* or reconstruct the sentence. Page 229: "It has been said that *every* dead language *cannot* be translated." The meaning we suppose from the connexion to be, that *no* dead language *can* be translated. Page 233: after observing that "in the New Testament many terms have a variable meaning," the author is made to lay down this rule; "When we read the New Testament, let us be careful to apply to them their theological and exact signification," &c. Obviously the very reverse of what was intended. Again, we have, p. 159, "concision" for conciseness; p. 160, "dogmatism" for inculcation of doctrine; p. 213, "Biblical Society" for Bible Society. We were also surprised, not a little to find it stated in the Appendix, p. 252, that the common English Bible "is probably as perfect a version as was ever made by man."

Introduction to the German Language: comprising a German Grammar, with an Appendix of important Tables and other matter; and a German Reader, consisting of Selections from the Classic Literature of Germany, accompanied by Explanatory Notes, and a Vocabulary adapted to the Selections. By DAVID FOSDICK, Jr. Andover: Gould & Newman. 1838. 12mo. pp. 271. — We can recommend this book to all those, and the number is increasing every day, who think of attempting to master the difficulties of the German language. As Mr. Fosdick says in the preface, "the beginner in the study of this language has hitherto found it requisite to set out with the purchase of three several books, a Grammar, a Reader, and Dictionary, in order to regard himself as adequately equipped for serious action. This necessity may be avoided, if the present volume should, happily, be found tolerably well adapted to its purpose; and he who makes use of it may proceed at once from the due study of its contents to the perusal of any productions of German literature which attract his attention." In convenience of method it is certainly an improvement on any other German Grammar that has come under our notice. The very circumstance that the language is a foreign tongue to the compiler himself is in some respects an advantage. He knows from experience the difficulties most likely to embarrass the English student, and in tracing the analogy between the two languages he is careful to be explicit where explanation *or caution* is most needed.

Picciola, or Captivity Captive. By M. D. SAINTINE. Philadelphia. 1838. — Who would believe, that a most interesting and edifying book, and that, too, a romance, could be written, the scene of which should be laid in a dungeon-yard, and the main character should be a simple flower, that finds its way up between the flagstones? Yet here we have such a book; and the fourth French edition, from which this translation is made, proves that the author has not labored in vain.

This little romance is written much in the spirit of Pellico's Prison Hours. A French noble, Count de Charney, is suddenly taken from the midst of gay Parisian life, and by order of Napoleon, against whom he had conspired, is immured in an Alpine dungeon. He had led a life of alternate revelry and study. The heartless world of fashion had chilled his better affections, and the skeptical questionings of philosophy had destroyed his faith. Trusting neither in man nor in Providence, and worshipping no higher power than chance, the young noble is thrown

into his mountain prison, and there, in form of a little flower, he finds a guide that wins him from doubt and repining, and leads him to faith, to virtue, and to happiness. The little flower, Picciola, by its simple beauty, excites his admiration, and, by its wondrous marks of design, rebukes his denial of an overruling Deity. It furnishes occupation to his idle hours, and becomes his constant care and study. In various ways it is connected with the prisoner's fortunes, and obtains his final deliverance and happiness.

From this it may seem that the book must be full of mock sentiment. But not so. It is not in the least lackadaisical. It may be read with a serious and even religious interest; and the most prosaic personage cannot but be engrossed in the fate of the little heroine. What absurdity is there in the idea of making so much of a flower? If the author of the famed work on the Being and Attributes of God could say there was more proof of God's being and goodness in the humblest flowret of the vale, than in all his subtle philosophizings, why cannot the novelist take the same idea, and win the soul to God and virtue by an enchanting image of the beauties and wonders of creation?

Fiction is so often made a robe of beauty around vices, which otherwise would disgust, that we cannot be too careful to encourage the reading of pure works of imagination. The rightful office of the beautiful is to give a charm to goodness and truth. It is one of the most encouraging signs of the times, that the literature of sentiment and imagination is becoming purer. We hope the day of the Satanic school is passing away, and the age of faith and reconciliation coming on. Surely the tastes of the English have undergone a change. That our rising age is yearning rather towards Wordsworth than towards Byron, is a notorious fact. May we not hope something for French taste and morals, when we know that the people can turn away from George Sands' intoxicating volumes, and take delight in the pure and simple page of Saintine.

Sketches of Martha's Vineyard, and other Reminiscences of Travel at Home, &c. By an INEXPERIENCED CLERGYMAN. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 207. — Most of these Sketches and Reminiscences appeared first in the Christian Register, as a series of letters or communications over the signature given above. They have been revised by the author, and are here again set forth in a collected and improved form. To these, with other matter, he has appended memoirs of the Rev. Zabdiel Adams, and the Rev. Henry Augustus Walker, which

will probably be read, the latter especially, with more interest than any other part of the volume. We gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity to copy into our own pages a brief notice of a promising young clergyman, whose early death is felt to be a public loss.

Mr. Walker was a native of Charlestown. From a child he was remarkable for thoughtfulness and gravity, for a modest and retiring disposition, and for a singular fairness and impartiality in his judgments of persons and opinions. While fitting for College, at Exeter, New Hampshire, he became one of the subjects of a revival of Religion, produced in that place by the earnest appeals of a justly distinguished orthodox divine, now no more. In 1826, at the age of sixteen, he entered Harvard University, and there kept up throughout his college course his habits of seriousness and devotion, as well as of close application to study, and graduated with a highly respectable rank as a scholar. He now wavered in his choice for some time between Andover and Cambridge, as the place where he should complete his education for the ministry; but decided at length on the latter, a decision which he never had occasion to regret.

"Our intimacy now," says Mr. Devens, "became more close than ever. The condition of my own mind was not very different from that of my friend. I felt a disposition for something a little more grave than the Theology of Liberal Christianity. Still my mind, like his, was in a very undecided state in regard to the great questions in dispute among the different sects of Christians. My friend and myself were determined to preserve our minds as free as possible from all prejudice or partiality, to study the Scriptures in their original languages with care and earnestness, and to receive those doctrines as true which we should find taught there, be they Trinitarian and Calvinistic, Unitarian and Arminian, or whatever different. For the space of three years we were in each other's company some part of almost every day. We studied together. We read to each other. We discussed more or less almost every difficult point in Theology. The more we investigated and reasoned, the more all tendencies to orthodoxy were checked within us, until at length we became firmly grounded in the principles of Liberal Christianity. We rejoiced in the liberty wherewith Christ had made us free.

"As soon as we had finished the prescribed term of theological study, we took a tour in company through the several States, visiting the Falls of Trenton and Niagara, Lake Erie, Pittsburg, the Allegany Mountains and Bedford Springs in the Southern part of Pennsylvania. As a travelling companion he was all one could desire, intelligent, curious, agreeable, persevering, and never disturbed by trifles. This tour, of which it becomes me to speak cursorily, and only so far as it is connected with the life of him whose remembrance should be cherished, was beneficial to Mr. Walker's health, as well as his mind. It gave him an opportunity of mingling more freely with mankind than he had

been in the habit of doing. After this he preached a few times, and then prepared for a journey to Europe, in part for the benefit of his health and an acquaintance with the world, but especially for greater advancement in theological science. He was abroad nearly two years. He travelled in England, Scotland, France, and Germany. In Germany he remained some time at the University in Berlin, devoting his time and strength to his favorite studies." — pp. 179, 180.

Of his merits, as an observer and writer, he has left a favorable specimen in an article contributed to this journal soon after his return.* His health was not essentially benefited by his travels; the consumptive tendencies of his constitution soon began to manifest themselves more decidedly than ever; and the few remaining days of his life were filled with a melancholy succession of generous efforts, checked, depressed, and made unavailing by physical weakness and decay. Nothing could stay the progress of the malady. By the advice of his physician, as the last resort, he sailed for Santa Cruz, and reached the island on Wednesday, the 14th of February, 1838, where, on the Saturday following, he breathed his last, — among entire strangers, whom his gentle, pious, and serene demeanor had converted, in that short space, into friends.

"Mr. Walker," observes his biographer, "was a man of retired habits and seldom made his appearance in general society; but those intimately acquainted with him will bear testimony to the correctness of the following character. He was a man of a singularly clear and discriminating mind, of great candor, justice, and sincerity. As a scholar, he was correct and indefatigable. He loved study, because he loved truth. He sought for it as the pearl of great price. As a friend, he was faithful and firm. None ever had occasion to question the warmth of his affections, or their truth and permanency. His whole demeanor was that of a gentle, modest, and humble man. His conscience was quick and active. His principles were, humanly speaking, immutable. His feelings were tender and delicate. Though embarrassingly timid, he was, at times, a courageous advocate of truth and rectitude, an unsparing denouncer of error and vice. He had ability, and when occasion required, he relied upon this rather than his courage. His temperament was calm — dispassionate — philosophic. In fine he was a devout man, and 'in wisdom,' as has been truly said of him, 'he was early old.'" — pp. 188, 189.

* On the University at Berlin. Vol. xxi. pp 213 – 224. Number for November, 1836.

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